

ABSTRACT OF THESIS (Regulation 3.5.10)

The involvement of the diocese of Dunkeld in the Reformation usually attracts little more than passing comment on the conservatism of its bishop, Robert Crichton, and of its cathedral and parish clergy. Closer examination shows that despite this conservatism the establishment of the kirk was initially not as slow or as haphazard as suspected. Although problems were encountered in the transfer from catholic to protestant patrimony, reformed church clergy were established in many parts of the diocese soon after 1560. Consolidation however was a much longer process and was not achieved until the middle of the seventeenth century.

The study of the cathedral chapter highlights the personal nature of Bishop Crichton's episcopacy and especially his attempts to ensure the survival of catholic worship. It also emphasises the introverted nature of his catholic faction, which wielded little influence outwith Dunkeld. His personal influence is demonstrated by the collapse of the catholic faction following his forfeiture in 1571, after which recusant activity was random and ineffective.

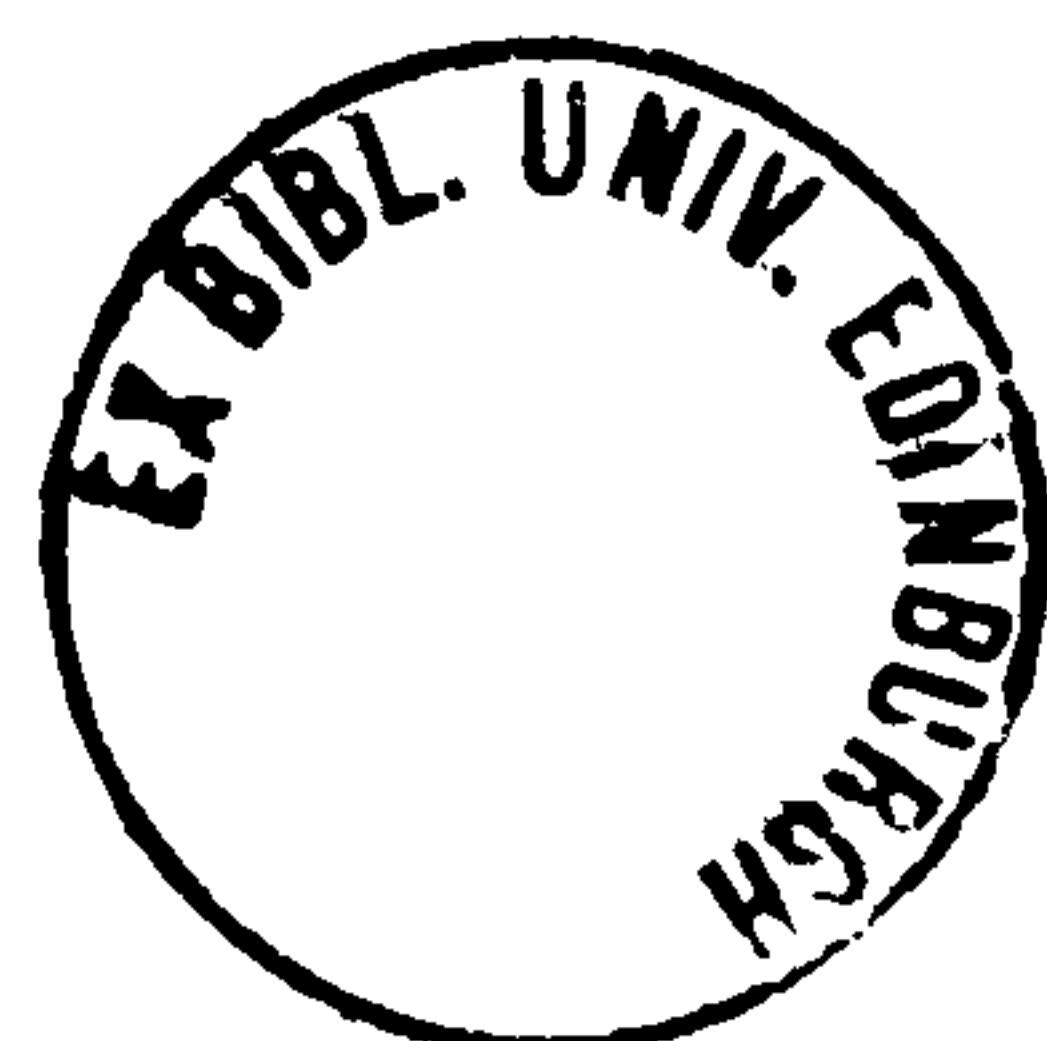
The involvement of the nobles and lairds was vital in the establishment of protestant worship. The diocese included many early supporters of the new faith whose influence was apparent at national and local levels. Despite the presence of a number of prominent catholics the opposition to the kirk was disorganised and weak, having been undermined by political ambition and family ties.

The Jesuit missions of the 1560s and 1580s were a factor in the survival of catholicism. The involvement of a number of Crichton kinsmen in the Society of Jesus reinforces the idea of a catholic faction, however the Jesuit missions, like the intransigence of Robert Crichton, offered a brave, but ultimately ineffective opposition to the establishment of the reformed church.

DUNKELD AND THE REFORMATION

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ABBREVIATIONS AND CONVENTIONS.

The following is a list of the most commonly used sources. It is by no means comprehensive and must be used in conjunction with the bibliography and the 'List of Abbreviated Titles of the Printed Sources of Scottish History to 1560' in the supplement to the Scottish Historical Review, October 1963. Any source not quoted here will be abbreviated in the notes relating to the text in the following form: Fraser, W., The Chiefs of Grant, (Edinburgh, 1883)....[hereafter Fraser, Grant]

Acts and Decs.	Register of Acts and Decrees, SRO
<u>ADCP</u>	<u>Acts of the Lords of Council in Civil Causes</u> , edd. T. Thomson and others (Edinburgh 1839 and 1918-).
<u>AFA</u>	<u>Acta Facultatis Artium Universitatis Sancti andree, 1413-1588</u> , ed. A.I. Dunlop (SHS, 1964).
<u>APS</u>	<u>Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, 1124-1707</u> , edd. T. Thomson and C. Innes (Edinburgh, 1814-75).
Assig.	Register of Assignations, SRO
Assump.	MS Book of Assumption of Benefices, SRO
<u>Bamff Chrs.</u>	<u>Bamff Charters, 1232-1703</u> , ed. J.H. Ramsay (Oxford, 1915).
Brunton and Haig, <u>Senators</u>	<u>Senators of the College of Justice</u> , edd. G. Brunton and D. Haig (Edinburgh, 1832).
<u>BUK</u>	<u>Acts and Proceedings of the General Assemblies of the Kirk of Scotland, 1560-1618</u> , ed. T. Thomson (Bannatyne and Maitland Clubs, 1839-45).
Calderwood, <u>History</u>	<u>The History of the Kirk of Scotland by Mr. David Calderwood</u> , edd. T. Thomson and D. Laing (Edinburgh, 1842-9).
<u>CA Chrs.</u>	<u>Charters of the Abbey of Coupar Angus</u> , ed. D.E. Easson (SHS, 1947).
<u>CA Rent.</u>	<u>The Rental Book of the Cistercian Abbey of Cupar Angus</u> , ed. C. Rogers (Grampian Club, 1879-80).
Cowan, <u>Scottish Reformation</u>	Cowan, I.B., <u>The Scottish Reformation</u> (London, 1982).

<u>CSP Domestic</u>	<u>Calender of State Papers, Domestic, 1547-1590</u> , ed. R. Lemon (1856).
<u>CSP Foreign, Eliz. Elizabeth</u>	<u>Calender of State Papers Foreign</u> , edd. J.Stevenson and others (1863-1950).
<u>CSP Rome</u>	<u>Calender of State Papers, Rome</u> , ed. J.M. Rigg (1916-26).
<u>CSP Scot.</u>	<u>Calender of State Papers relating to Scotland and Mary, Queen of Scots, 1547-1603</u> , edd. J.Bain and others (1898-1969).
<u>CSP Spanish</u>	<u>Calender of State Papers, Spanish</u> , edd.G. Bergenroth and others (1862-1954).
<u>Diurnal</u>	<u>Diurnal of Remarkable Occurents....within Scotland</u> (Bannatyne and Maitland Clubs, 1833)
Donaldson, <u>Scottish Reformation</u>	Donaldson, G., <u>The Scottish Reformation</u> , (Cambridge,1960)
Dowden, <u>Bishops</u>	<u>The Bishops of Scotland</u> , ed. J.Dowden (Glasgow,1912)
<u>Dunblane Visit.</u>	<u>Visitation of the Diocese of Dunblane, 1586-9</u> , ed. J.Kirk (SRS, 1984).
<u>Dunk.Rent.</u>	<u>Rentale Dunkeldense</u> , ed. R. Hannay (SHS, 1915).
<u>ESL</u>	<u>Early Scottish Libraries</u> , edd. J.Durkan and A.Ross (Glasgow, 1961).
Fraser, <u>Grandtully</u>	<u>Red Book of Grandtully</u> , W.Fraser (Edinburgh, 1868).
Fraser, <u>Keir</u> ,	<u>Stirlings of Keir</u> , W.Fraser (Edinburgh, 1858)
Gillies, <u>Breadalbane</u>	<u>In Famed Breadalbane</u> , W.Gillies (Perth, 1938)
GRH	General Register House,Edinburgh.
GUA	Glasgow University Archives
Haws, <u>Scottish Parish Clergy</u>	<u>Scottish Parish Clergy at the Reformation 1540-74</u> , ed. C.H.Haws (SRS, 1972).
<u>Hist. King James VI</u>	<u>The Historie and Life of King James the Sext</u> , ed.T.Thomson (Bannatyne Club, 1825).

<u>HMC</u>	Reports of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts (London, 1870-).
<u>Inchaffray Chrs.</u>	<u>Charters, Bulls and other Documents relating to the Abbey of Inchaffray</u> (SHS, 1908).
<u>IR</u>	<u>Innes Review.</u>
Keith, <u>Bishops</u>	Keith, R., <u>An Historical Catalogue of the Scottish Bishops</u> , ed. M. Russel (Edinburgh, 1824).
Keith, <u>History</u>	Keith, R., <u>The History of the Affairs of the Church and State in Scotland</u> (Spottiswoode Society, 1844)
Knox, <u>History</u>	<u>John Knox's History of the Reformation in Scotland</u> , ed. W.C. Dickson (Edinburgh, 1949).
Knox, <u>Works</u>	<u>The Works of John Knox</u> , ed. D. Laing (Edinburgh, 1846-64).
McRoberts, <u>Scottish Reformation</u>	McRoberts, D., ed. <u>Essays on the Scottish Reformation, 1513-1625</u>
Melville, <u>Diary</u>	<u>The Autobiography and Diary of Mr. James Melville</u> , ed. R. Pitcairn (Wodrow Society, 1842).
Mylne, <u>Vitae</u>	Mylne, A., <u>Vitae Dunkeldensis Ecclesiae Episcoporum</u> , ed. C. Innes (Bannatyne Club, 1831).
NLS	National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.
<u>NSA</u>	<u>New Statistical Account of Scotland, 1842.</u>
<u>OPS</u>	<u>Origines Parochiales Scotiae</u> (Bannatyne Club, 1851-5).
<u>OSA</u>	<u>Old Statistical Account of Scotland, 1793.</u>
<u>Papal Negs.</u>	<u>Papal Negotiations with Mary, Queen of Scots, 1561-7</u> , ed. J.H. Pollen (SHS, 1901).
Patrick, <u>Statutes</u>	<u>Statutes of the Scottish Church</u> , ed. D. Patrick (SHS, 1907).
Pitcairn, <u>Trials</u>	<u>Criminal Trials in Scotland from 1488 to 1624</u> , ed. R. Pitcairn (Edinburgh, 1833).

PRO	Public Records Office, London.
Reg. Deeds	Register of Deeds, SRO
<u>Reg.Min.</u>	<u>Register of Ministers, Exhorters and Readers and of their Stipends after the period of the Reformation</u> (Maitland Club, 1830).
Reg. Pres.	Register of Presentations to Benefices, SRO
Reg. Supp.	Register of Supplications, GUA.
<u>RFC</u>	Register of Abbreviates of Feu Charters of Kirklands, SRO
<u>RMS</u>	<u>Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum</u> , edd. J.M.Thomson and others (Edinburgh, 1882-1914).
<u>RPC</u>	<u>Register of the Privy Council of Scotland, 1545-1625</u> , edd. J.H.Burton and D.Mason (Edinburgh, 1877-98).
<u>RSCHS</u>	<u>Records of the Scottish Church History Society.</u>
<u>RSS</u>	<u>Registrum Secreti Sigilli Regum Scotorum</u> , edd. M.Livingstone and others (Edinburgh, 1908-).
Scott, <u>Fasti</u>	Scott, H., <u>Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae</u> revised edition (Edinburgh, 1915-50).
<u>SHR</u>	<u>Scottish Historical Review.</u>
SHS	Scottish History Society.
SRO	Scottish Record Office, Edinburgh.
STS	Scottish Text Society.
<u>St.A.Recs.</u>	<u>Early Records of the University of St. Andrews</u> , ed. J.M.Anderson (SHS, 1926).
<u>Stirling Presb.Recs.</u>	<u>Stirling Presbytery Records, 1581-7</u> , ed. J.Kirk (Edinburgh, 1981).
<u>TA</u>	<u>Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland</u> , edd.T.Dickson and others (Edinburgh, 1877-).
<u>Taymouth Bk.</u>	<u>The Black Book of Taymouth</u> , ed. C.Innes (Bannatyne Club, 1855).

- TB Accounts of the Collectors of the Thirds of Benefices, 1561-72, ed. G. Donaldson (SHS, 1949).
- Watt, Fasti Watt, D.E.R., Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae Medii Aevi ad annum 1638 (SHS, 1969).
- Wod.Misc. Wodrow Society Miscellany.

ABSTRACT

The involvement of the diocese of Dunkeld in the Reformation usually attracts little more than passing comment on the conservatism of its bishop, Robert Crichton, and of its cathedral and parish clergy. Closer examination shows that despite this conservatism the establishment of the kirk was initially not as slow or haphazard as suspected. Although problems were encountered in the transfer from catholic to protestant patrimony, reformed church clergy were established in many parts of the diocese soon after 1560. Consolidation however was a much longer progress and was not achieved until the middle of the seventeenth century.

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The involvement of the nobles and lairds was vital in the establishment of protestant worship. The diocese included many early supporters of the new faith whose influence was apparent at national and local levels. Despite the presence of a number of prominent catholics the opposition to the kirk was disorganised and weak, having been undermined by political ambition and family ties.

The Jesuit missions of the 1560s and 1580s were a factor in the survival of catholicism. The involvement of a number of Crichton kinsmen in the Society of Jesus reinforces the idea of a catholic faction, however the Jesuit missions, like the intransigence of Robert Crichton, offered a brave, but ultimately ineffective opposition to the establishment of the reformed church.

I certify that this thesis is my own work and none
of it has previously been published in the form in
which it is now presented

.....*MTJ Yellow Tees*.....

September 1990

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CHAPTER ONE

THE DIOCESE OF DUNKELD DURING THE SIXTEENTH CENTURYa) The Parishes of Dunkeld

It has been asserted that at the Reformation Dunkeld was a conservative diocese. This commonly held view is usually based on an assessment of the bishop, Robert Crichton, and little attention has been paid to the diocese as a whole. Although the main conservative influence emanated from the cathedral chapter it was also evident amongst a small number of parish clergy and some of the more powerful families within the diocese. These nobles were generally unwilling or unable to use their power effectively and it was often the lesser lairds who exerted the greatest influence. The level of conservatism within the diocese should not, however, be overestimated as the majority of laymen and a considerable number of clergymen accepted the new church structure. Organised opposition was almost solely at the instigation of Robert Crichton, and the success of the catholic faction, which grew up around Dunkeld, fluctuated with his personal fortunes. It would be to overstress the influence of this faction to relate its activities to the haphazard establishment of the kirk. Although a satisfactory number of reformed clergy was not achieved until the late 1560s the initial lack of success of the kirk cannot be purely attributed to Robert Crichton, as his activities were restricted to the area around Dunkeld. More influential in determining the number of protestant clergy were the various financial and administrative problems encountered by the kirk after 1560.

An overall picture of the effects of the Reformation can only be gained by looking at the various sections of society which influenced events and to assess the ways in which they interacted with each other. The changes which the diocese underwent after 1560 were gradual and the main obstacles in the path of protestant reform were often the same as those which had plagued the pre-Reformation catholic church. Dunkeld, as a geographically diverse and scattered diocese, did, however, pose many unique problems making it a particularly difficult area for the reformed kirk. Its remoteness was at the same time a source of strength and also of weakness for the catholic church, and at all times was a problem for the kirk. This remoteness did not, however, isolate the diocese from the influence of protestantism, which reached the gentry, if not the general populace, well before 1560.

Protestantism as a popular movement had few roots in Scotland and fewer still in Dunkeld. Early heresy in the diocese was virtually unknown, although it is possible that the heretic, James Resby, may have preached within Dunkeld. Resby was an English friar, who fled north to avoid persecution, but had been arrested by Laurence of Lindores, the inquisitor for Scotland. Resby was accused of forty charges of heresy, the most damning being the denial of the authority of the Pope as the successor of St. Peter. Resby was burnt at Perth in 1407.¹ One of the functions of St. Andrews University was to combat the spread of heresy, an indication perhaps

1. Tytler, P.F., History of Scotland (Edinburgh, 1828-43), iii, 24.

of the incidence of heretical activity in central Scotland.² Despite there being little evidence of the spread of heresy, legislation passed in 1425 indicates government concern.³ Dunkeld cathedral was, however, more pre-occupied with attacks from its neighbours than from heretics. One of the litanies reputedly recited in the cathedral ran: 'from caterans and robbers, from wolves and all wild beasts, Lord deliver us'. Following the arrest and imprisonment of one of the Robertson clansmen, Bishop Thomas Lauder (1452-1475) was attacked by men from the clan Donnachie and forced to take refuge in the beams above the choir.⁴ In times of unrest the synod was held in the Carmelite priory of Tullilum, near Perth. In 1515, while the bishopric was vacant, John Stewart, 2nd Earl of Atholl, seized control of the palace and episcopal property in anticipation of his brother Andrew's appointment to the diocese.⁵ Gavin Douglas, who had already been provided to the see by the Pope, was imprisoned for supposedly soliciting papal preferment. Douglas was eventually appointed to the see and Atholl compensated for his loss.⁶ It was later felt necessary to legislate against such seizures of episcopal property by 'evil disponent personis'.

In the first half of the sixteenth century there is little evidence of discontent in Dunkeld, or in rural Perthshire as a whole. Nevertheless government concern regarding heresy was again apparent in 1525 when legislation was introduced banning the importation of

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2. Cant, R.G., University of St. Andrews (Edinburgh, 1970), 22.
 3. APS, i, 425.
 4. Myln, Vitae, 21-3.
 5. Dunk. Rent., 331.
 6. Watt, Fasti, 99.

Lutheran books and later in 1535 and 1540, when further measures were taken against the 'dampnable opiazionis of heresy'.⁷ Action was also taken to try and restrict the activities of unlicensed preachers and teachers. Despite, or perhaps as a result of this legislation, there was relatively little persecution of protestants and between 1529 and 1539 only ten heretics were burnt. The spread of reforming ideas via Perth and Stirling was inevitable and there is some evidence of unrest around Dunblane, especially in Tullibody and Dollar, which was appropriated to Dunkeld.⁸ Thomas Forrest, a canon of Inchcolm and vicar of Dollar, was tried and burnt as a heretic at Edinburgh in 1539.⁹ Protestant ideas seem to have been espoused by quite a number of the lairds such as Menzies of Weem and Campbell of Glenorchy, as early as the 1530s.

The impact of the Reformation varied from region to region and its effect upon Dunkeld, prior to 1560, is unclear. As a result of the numerous differences which existed between rural Dunkeld and urban Perth comparison is perhaps superfluous, but the town's influence upon the surrounding area was such as to warrant closer examination. In the twenty years prior to the Reformation there was extensive social and political unrest in Perth, resulting from internal pressure from the crafts guilds, as well as from local magnates, such as the Lords Gray and Ruthven.¹⁰ The riots of 1534

7. Donaldson, Scottish Reformation, 29-30.

8. In those Dunkeld parishes close to the ports of Dundee and St. Andrews similar exposure to Lutheran ideas was likely.

9. Todd, J.R., The Reformation in the Diocese of Dunblane (Edinburgh Ph.D, 1973), 45-6; Pitcairn, Trials, i, 210-215.

10. Verschuur, M., 'Merchants and Craftsmen in 16th Century Perth' in Early Modern Town in Scotland ed. Lynch, M., 36-54; Sanderson, M.B.H., Cardinal of Scotland, (Edinburgh, 1982), pp. 190-1.

seem to have had no apparent religious antecedents as the town had as yet shown no interest in the new doctrines. It is also unclear whether the riots of 1543 and the resulting 'heresy' trial in 1544 under Cardinal Beaton and Governor Arran was really concerned with protestant activism or insurrection on the part of the craftsmen.¹¹ The resulting progressive measures seem to have dispelled any of the early protestant enthusiasm.¹² Beaton, however, claimed that the 'town and country thereabout was more infected therewith than any other part of the nation'.¹³ Civic unrest during the 1550s was again related to the political constitution, although the ethos of the Reformation was later to correspond with the political aspirations of the craftsmen.¹⁴ Knox listed Perth as one of the burghs loyal to his cause, however it did not manifest any obvious protestant allegiance until Easter 1559, when it 'embraced the gospel'.¹⁵ The earlier lack of interest in Perth is perhaps confirmed by the anonymous account of the Estate of Scotland, which makes no reference to the town, but points to neighbouring Dundee as the area which 'excelled all the rest in zeal and boldness'.¹⁶ In 1558, in Angus and Fife, which both included numerous parishes appropriated to Dunkeld, increased interest was being shown and many 'beganne openlie to renounce their idolatrie'.¹⁷ The pattern of

11. Verschuur, M., op cit., 42.

12. Fittis, R.S., Ecclesiastical Annals of Perth (Edinburgh, 1885), 189 [hereafter Fittis, Perth]; Calderwood, History, i, 171-2; Pitcairn, Trials, i, 335.

13. Keith, History, i, 99.

14. Verschuur, M., op. cit., 50.

15. Knox, History, i, 159.

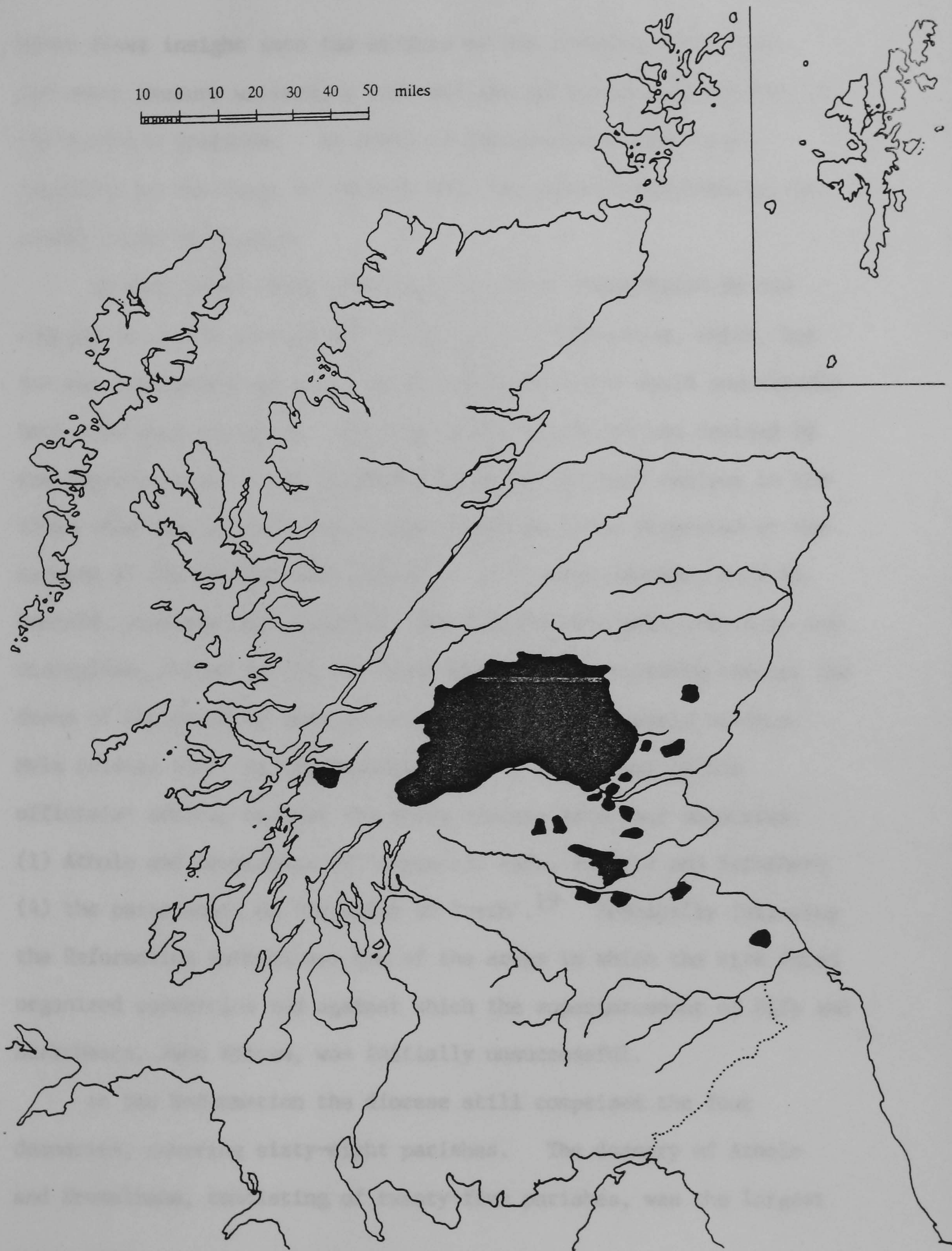
16. Wod. Misc., 54.

17. Knox, History, i, 121; Calderwood, History, i, 307, 320, 333.

interest within Perth was mirrored in the surrounding areas. Enthusiasm seems to have been limited to a few protestant clergy and lairds, with the populace as a whole showing little interest in the new doctrines. The mood changed at a very late stage and even on the eve of the Reformation there is little indication of there having been extensive grass-roots support for the protestants. This lack of overt protestant support does not disguise the fact that there was general discontent with the state of the catholic church. This anti-clericalism is apparent in works such as The Gude and Godlie Ballatis and The Testament of Duncan Laider alias McGregor. In his testament Laider satirically disposes of his spiritual goods: negligence to the curate, rapacity to the vicar, oppression to the parson, gluttony to the prior, pride and arrogance to the abbot, freewill to the bishop and flattery to the friars.¹⁸

Dunkeld was a geographically diverse and sprawling diocese covering large parts of highland and lowland Scotland. This diversity, coupled with other cultural, social and historical differences, provided the bishops with numerous problems, some of them unique to Dunkeld, but many which were common to the church before and after the Reformation. According to Alexander Myln (1474-1548), the dean of Rattray and author of the Vitae Dunkeldensis Ecclesiae Episcoporum, Dunkeld seems to have coped better than many of the other dioceses with the inter-related problems of finance, discipline and administration. Despite its poor Latin Myln's Vitae

18. The Gude and Godlie Ballatis, ed. A.F. Mitchell (STS, 1897); The Testament of Duncan Laider alias McGregor, SRO Breadalbane Mun. GD 112/71/21.



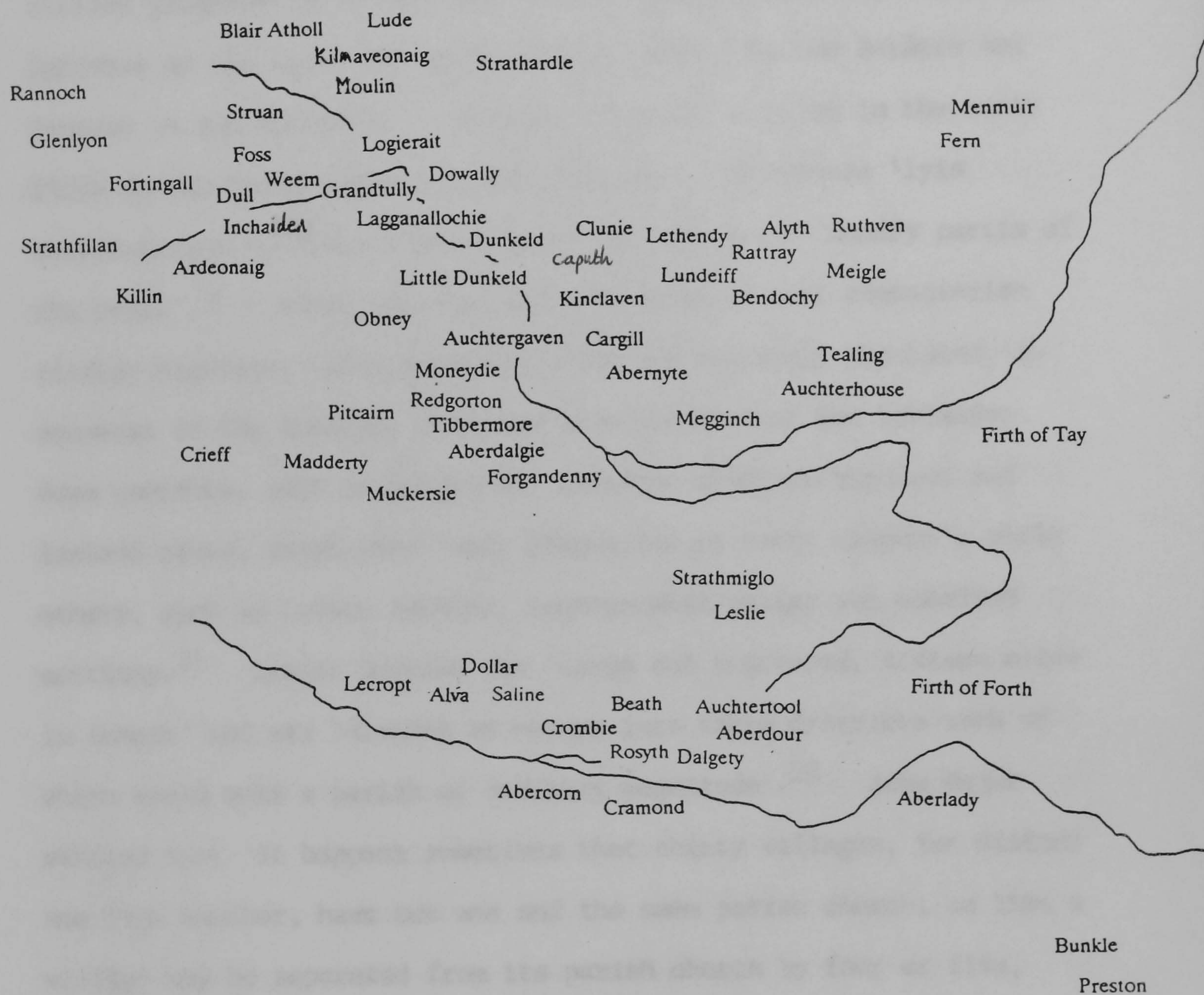
● Fig. 1: The Diocese of Dunkeld

gives great insight into the affairs of the diocese, as well as fifteenth century university life and the political machinations of the Scottish prelates. As Abbot of Cambuskenneth and first president of the Court of Session Myln was closely involved in the events which he relates.

In many cases these problems were later exacerbated by the changes in church government following the Reformation, which, but for the involvement of many pre-Reformation clergy would undoubtedly have been more damaging. The wealth of the church was drained by the appropriation of its revenues, which became most serious in the 1560s when the old catholic clergy continued to be supported at the expense of the new reformed clergy. In a rural diocese, such as Dunkeld, problems were naturally encountered with administration and discipline, though during the first half of the sixteenth century the deans of Christianity seem to have achieved considerable success. Myln relates that 'as the population grew, the bishop by his officials' advice, divided the whole diocese into four deaneries: (1) Athole and Drumalbane (2) Angus (3) Fyfe, Fothrik and Strathern (4) the parts south of the water of Forth'.¹⁹ Ironically following the Reformation Dunkeld was one of the areas in which the kirk faced organised opposition and against which the superintendent of Fife and Strathearn, John Winram, was initially unsuccessful.

At the Reformation the diocese still comprised the four deaneries, covering sixty-eight parishes. The deanery of Athole and Drumalbane, consisting of twenty-five parishes, was the largest

19. Dunk. Rent., 304.



● Fig. 2: The Parishes of Dunkeld.

and with the deanery of Angus, consisting of eighteen parishes, comprised the main body of the diocese. The other parishes were contained in the deaneries of Fife and Strathearn and of Lothian, comprising nineteen and five parishes respectively. The diocese was divided geographically into two by the Highland Line and contained parishes as far apart and as diverse as Bunkle in the Borders and Rannoch in the Highlands. An undated report written in the early 1570s during Mar's regency pointed out that the diocese 'lyis nochtcontigue bot the kirkis thairof are seperat in sundry partis of the realm'.²⁰ Those parishes north of Dunkeld were characteristically highland, being generally large and sparsely populated, in contrast to the smaller, more numerous parishes of the Lowlands. Some parishes, such as Redgorton, combined distinct highland and lowland zones, which were 'very dissimilar in every respect', while others, such as Little Dunkeld, incorporated valley and moorland sections.²¹ Little Dunkeld was 'large and scattered, sixteen miles in length' and was 'divided by nature into three districts each of which would make a parish of ordinary magnitude'.²² John Major related that 'it happens sometimes that thirty villages, far distant one from another, have but one and the same parish church, so that a village may be separated from its parish church by four or five, sometimes by ten miles'.²³ In 1585 when Glenlyon was united to Fortingall and Kilchonain the new parish covered almost 1000 square

20. NLS Adv. MSS 17.1.3 fo. 369.

21. NSA, x, 163.

22. Dunk. Rent., 312; OSA, vi, 354.

23. Major, History, 30.

miles and covered most of northwest Perthshire. This new parish bounded on that of Lismore and until the formation of the 'quoad' parishes there were no other churches between the two, a distance of eighty miles.

The geography of many of these parishes made their administration difficult, especially when many of them were not compact, self-contained units but included numerous detached portions. At least twenty Dunkeld parishes had scattered portions, though this was generally characteristic of highland parishes such as Moulin, Dull, Inchadney, Killin and Logierait. Few though were as widespread as Weem, which comprised twelve different areas. Two of these, at Lawers and Glenlyon, were almost twenty miles from the parish church. The main portion of the parish measured 1,444 acres, while the detached portions covered 40,441 acres.²⁴ Bendochy, another large parish, comprised two inconveniently detached areas and proved an impossible centre for worship, as did the parish of Caputh, which also included the village of Dunkeld and the castle and harbour at Broughty Ferry, near Dundee. At Redgorton the church, which was only 1½ miles from that at Moneydie, was situated in the lowland part of the parish alienating those in the highland area.²⁵ The complexity of the situation is illustrated by the fact that, prior to the rearrangement of parishes in 1893, if one were to travel from Kenmore to Aberfeldy, a distance of six miles, one would pass through five parishes, Inchaiden, Weem, Dull, Fortingall and Logierait, at

24. Sheenan, H., Boundaries of Counties and Parishes of Scotland (Edinburgh, 1892), xix [hereafter Sheenan, Counties].

25. NSA, x, 194.

least once.²⁶ Parishes with scattered portions were also to be found in the Lowlands, but the majority possessed only one such area, which was generally closer to the mother church.

Despite the size of some of these parishes many clergymen had to minister over more than one charge. The 'platt of the four kirkis' was an informal, and often unpopular, arrangement designed to spread the ministerial and financial resources of the reformed church. It was decided that 'the minister make his residence at ane kirk, quhilk salbe properlie appointit to his charge, and he salbe callit principallie the minister of that kirk, and as concerning the rest of the kirkis to which he is nominat, he sall have the oversight thereof ... as occassion sall serve from his principall charge the quhilk he in no wayes may neglect'.²⁷ The advantages and weaknesses of this arrangement are best expressed in John Davidson's work of 1573-4: Ane Dialog or Mutuall Talking betuix a Clerk and ane Courteour concerning foure Parische Kirks till ane Minister.²⁸ In the Dialog the cleric expressed Davidson's viewpoint, while the courtier attempted to defend the re-organisation instituted by Regent Morton. Davidson dismissed the reforms as cosmetic and called for proper spiritual provision rather than mere statistical reshuffling. He attacked the appointment of one clergyman to numerous churches:

'For ane man cannot satisfie
for to do four mennis dewtie'.

26. Gillies, Breadalbane, 379.

27. BUK, i, 296.

28. Satirical Poems of the Time of the Reformation, ed. J. Cranstoun (Edinburgh and London, 1891), i, 296-324 [hereafter Cranstoun, Satirical Poems]; Bardgett, F.D., 'Four Parische Kirkis to Ane Preicheir', in RSCHS, xxii (1986), 195-209.

It was, in his opinion, essential that 'the pastour knaw his scheip', which could hardly be possible during the course of a once monthly visit. Davidson was also suspicious of the court's motives for reform, believing that the regent wished to gain control of the kirk via its financial administration. This was undoubtedly the case as Morton was openly opposed to clerical interference in secular affairs.²⁹ Financial realism meant that Morton's proposals were accepted, however the system continued to attract criticism, especially in 1584 when 'the readers are made ministers, and all corruption hath entered in, for every man hath gotten four kirkis'.³⁰

In 1575 George Lundie, the minister of Cramond, complained to the General Assembly that Bishop James Paton had ordered him to serve four different parishes to the detriment of himself and the parishioners.³¹ During the 1570s Duncan McAuley was minister of Dull, Fortingall, Foss, Grandtully, Inchaiden and Weem, his charge measuring over thirty miles in length. During the same period Alexander Hepburn was minister of Dowally, Dunkeld, Lagganallochie, Little Dunkeld, Logierait and Moulin, which encompassed an area equal in size to that ministered over by McAuley. After the Reformation many of these arrangements were formalised. Formal unification, however, was not possible until the kirk was firmly established and aside from the combining of Alva and Tillicoultry in 1583 and Glenlyon, Fortingall and Rannoch in 1585 the majority were not united

29. Calderwood, History, iii, 137; Melville, Diary, 28.

30. Wod. Misc., 436.

31. BUK, i, 332.

until the early seventeenth century. In 1618 Aberdalgie and Dupplin, Auchtergaven and Logiebride and Forteviot and Muckersie were united to each other. In most cases the combination of two parishes was considered enough, however there were exceptions, such as in 1632 when Blair Atholl, Kilmaveonaig, Lude and Struan were united.

Poor or non-existent roads, natural obstacles and adverse weather conditions often made it difficult for clergymen to fulfil their pastoral duties and also for parishioners to attend church. Prior to the sixteenth century there were few roads of any kind and John Cumming's road, built during the thirteenth century to transport wine from Blair Atholl to Ruthven, must have been one of the few in the area. By the time of the Reformation there was a regular flow of traffic from the Highlands to the Lowland markets, and Inchaiden, at the east end of Loch Tay, was an important river crossing for drovers from the north.

At Dull and Fortingall many parts of the parishes were cut off by mountain ranges and rivers, which in the winter were usually impassible. The church at Inchaiden was also often inaccessible to the inhabitants of Kenmore when the Tay was in spate, and was one of the reasons for the removal of the church to the village in 1579.³² Two seventeenth century reports concerning the parishes of Dull and Inchaiden highlight the problems encountered and there is little reason to assume that the situation was any different prior to the

32. Hunter, R.J., The Presbytery and Diocese of Dunkeld (London, 1917), i, 392 [hereafter Hunter, Dunkeld]; Report on the State of Certain Parishes in Scotland, 1627 (Maitland Club, 1885), 162-3 [hereafter Parishes]; Campbell, D., The Lairds of Glenlyon (Perth, 1984); Gillies, Breadalbane, 57.

Reformation. The report on Dull lamented on the fact that 'the inhabitants off the landis beyond the mouth [of the River Lyon] northwards from the parochie kirk seldom repairs to the kirk except upon necessite... bot ignorance aboundis in the land and neglect off the inhabitants'.³³ The other reported 'much ignorance and great grief' in the parish of Inchaiden.³⁴

Climate was another key to the distinction between the highland and lowland zones and the period 1560 to 1590 was one during which the climate deteriorated.³⁵ The weather is one of the most mentioned subjects in the Chronicle of Fortingall, which relates that in 1554 the northwest of Perthshire experienced the 'grettast snaw and storm that was seen the memory of men levad that tym'. The weather seriously affected men's lives and livelihoods and famine was not uncommon.³⁶ Shortages were, however, not as common as in England, though the supply of 'rough plenty' in Scotland was limited by political instability, uncertainty of land tenure and outdated forms of agriculture.³⁷

Geographical problems were not peculiar to the highland parishes. Some lowland parishes, such as Forgandenny, were equally large and due to the 'greitness of the charge, distance of the boundis thairof' required two clergymen.³⁸ A more common problem in

33. Parishes, 164.

34. Gillies, Breadalbane, 264.

35. Evans, J.G., The Environment of Early Man in the British Isles, (London, 1976), 175.

36. Taymouth Bk., 124, 127-9, 135.

37. Lythe, S.G.E., The Economic History of Scotland in its European Setting, 1556-1625 (Edinburgh, 1960), pp. 5, 26.

38. Parishes, 166.

the lowland areas was the smallness of some of the parishes. Some, such as Ruthven and Lecropt, measured only a few square miles and boasted few parishioners.³⁹ These factors were often reflected in the size of the stipend and the quality of the clergyman appointed.

These various factors often made it impossible for the parish church to be regarded as a viable centre for worship. The situation was eased by the existence of chapels, although the actual number is impossible to determine. In some parishes, such as Logierait and Inchaiden, there were perhaps as many as five. The English translation of one of the Gaelic names given to Glenlyon was the 'valley of chapels'. The existence of many chapels survives only in local place-names and their etymology or physical remains offer few clues to their history. The prefix 'kil' or 'kille' indicates the existence of a church or chapel. Thus Kilmory, near Kenmore, was the church of St. Mary and although no record of a church survives a graveyard has been found. Likewise Kilchonain in Rannoch, once a separate parish, was named after St. Conan. The suffix 'annait', the mother church, has similar connotations and examples are Balhanait on Lochtayside and Balnahanait at the western end of Glenlyon. Lowland alternatives are to be found in names such as Chapelton and Chapelhill.⁴⁰

These chapels were endowed to perform various functions and some of those which were to be found in parish and private churches, collegiate churches and cathedrals were incorporated into the

39. Parishes, 185; NSA, xi, 416.

40. Watson, W.J., History of the Celtic place-names of Scotland (Stirling, 1922).

parochial system. Others, such as those at Glenlyon and Foss, were already parochial chapels, while those at Aberlady, Alyth and Leslie were endowed for the saying of masses.⁴¹ Within Dunkeld cathedral itself there were as many as nineteen altars, including the seven founded by Bishop George Brown at the end of the fifteenth century.⁴² The bishops of Dunkeld endowed various other altars, including two at the bishop's residence on Loch Clunie and at other residences in Edinburgh, Perth, Dundee and Tullileum.⁴³ This widespread presence gives a good indication of the itinerant nature of the bishop's duties, which necessitated these residences and places of worship outwith Dunkeld.

Private chapels were also endowed by many lairds and nobles, including Lord Drummond at Stobhall, Lord Ruthven at Ruthven Castle and Campbell of Glenorchy at Killin and Isle of Loch Tay.⁴⁴ Other chapels were connected to religious houses such as Coupar Angus and Balmerino, which set up chapels in the parishes of Cargill and Strathmiglo for their servants and tenants.⁴⁵ These were not parochial chapels in the ordinary sense and although united to the mother house were considered to be independent.⁴⁶ Chapels were also to be found alongside holy wells and graveyards. In the parish of

41. St. A. Lib., 230, 245, 294-7, 309; HMC Atholl, 710, no. 76; Macfarlane, Geographical Coll, 113, 375; Bamff Chrs., 31.

42. Dunk. Rent., 311.

43. HMC Atholl, 711; Dunk. Rent., 212, 214, 216, 239, 290, 311, 328.

44. OSA, xxvii, 272; RMS, ii, no. 3337; iii, no. 1341; Gillies Breadalbane, 119; Taymouth Bk., 181-2, 187-9, 190, 192.

45. CA Rent., ii, 207; Scott, Fasti, iv, 149; v, 173; viii, 452.

46. CA Chrs., i, p. xlvi.

Dowally there were the four holy wells at St. Annes, Dalcapon, Kilmorich and Crueshill, the last of which was still being used at the start of the nineteenth century. Clan graveyards were very common in the Highlands and many such as those at Duneaves and Lassintullich, north of Fortingall, incorporated small chapels.

A problem closely connected with that of geography was language. The boundary between the Scots and Gaelic-speaking areas corresponded fairly closely with the Highland Line. The division was thought to run along the Inschewin Burn, near Dunkeld, which was later the boundary between the Atholl and Stewart lands.⁴⁷ Gaelic was also spoken in some parts of the parishes to the south of Dunkeld, such as in the highland parts of Caputh, Dowally and Redgorton.⁴⁸ Bishop George Brown (1483-1515), aware of the language problem, arranged for Gaelic-speaking friars to preach and hear confession annually in the upper regions of the diocese.⁴⁹ In 1524 one of the four chaplains of Abernyte, Patrick Gardiner, was noted for his good knowledge of Gaelic, and the appointment of Sir Thomas Greig to the deanery of Athole was justified by his 'knowledge of the local idiom'. Following the Reformation Gaelic-speaking clerics were still scarce, despite the General Assembly's attempts to recruit them.⁵¹ Ministers, such as Duncan McAuley at Inchaiden, were invaluable. His ministering was made more effective by the Earl

47. Fraser, Grandtully, i, p. xxxi.

48. Dunk. Rent., 313.

49. Ibid., 304.

50. Ibid., 304, 330.

51. BUK, i, 47.

of Argyll's decree that ministers and readers should use the 'prayeris, ministratiouns of the sacramentis and the form of discipline after the ordour of Genevay translatit out of Englis in the Erische toung be Maister Jhone Carsuale, lait beschope of the Ylis'.⁵² In 1589, after twenty years spent around Loch Tay, McAuley was transferred to Blair Atholl, but had to return a year later as his successor, John Burdon, from Fowlis Wester, was unable to speak Gaelic. A later non-Gaelic speaking incumbent of Inchaiden, George Graham, the dean of Dunkeld and later bishop of Orkney, was also forced to return the charge to its previous Gaelic-speaking minister, John McLagan.⁵³ A great deal of the problem surrounding the use of Gaelic stemmed from official belief that the 'Irish language' was one of the 'chief and principall causes of the continuance of barbaritie and incivilitie among the inhabitants of the Isles and Highlands'. The speaking of Gaelic in fact remained a problem for the kirk until the nineteenth century. In 1824 one of the litigants in a case before the General Assembly, concerning Little Dunkeld, pointed out what Bishop George Brown had recognised over 300 years earlier, that it was not possible to have 'a highland mouth without a highland tongue'.⁵⁴

Language, however, was the least of the reformers' problems and the kirk was more pre-occupied with the inter-related problems of finance and recruitment. The feuing of church lands and the

52. CSP Scot., v, no. 28.

53. Gillies, Breadalbane, 264.

54. NSA, x, 1010; NRA Atholl 234 bdle 1227.

appropriation of church revenues were by no means sixteenth century phenomena and the financial chaos of the Reformation period was the culmination of a process which had its origins in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The act of parliament of 1458 to encourage feuing achieved exactly that aim and by 1560 feuing and appropriation were widespread. Recruitment was another pressing problem for the kirk, not only in terms of numbers, but also in the quality of the candidates available. In response to these problems of finance and personnel realism and compromise were required, both by the kirk and by the former catholic clergy.

The most serious of these two problems were the financial expedients of feuing and appropriation; the diversion of ecclesiastical revenues to another institution or individual. Late fifteenth-century parliaments had attempted to curb the problem, but by 1521 the practice had progressed 'beyond what was wise'.⁵⁵ The majority of Dunkeld's churches were appropriated to the cathedral itself or to some other religious institution within the diocese, or without. The cathedral controlled fifteen prebendal, eighteen mensal and five common churches. Of the other churches appropriated to religious houses, seven were controlled by Inchcolm, two each by Cambuskenneth, Coupar Angus, Dunfermline, Scone and Strathfillan and one each by Arbroath, Culross, Holyrood, Inchaffray and St. Andrews. The remaining seven were independent parsonages, mainly under the

55. APS, ii, 99, 209; Major, History, 136. The problem of feuing is discussed in Chapter 2 in relation to the decline of the cathedral chapter.

control of John Stewart, 4th earl of Atholl. These parishes were under Atholl's jurisdiction and he was able, for long spells, to prevent the provision of any protestant clergy.⁵⁶

The vicarage system allowed men to hold more than one benefice and had the added benefit that it released men to serve in the church and the government. The crown was obviously attracted to the system as a means of cutting costs. Abraham Crichton, one of the Lords of Session, received his considerable income from the numerous benefices he held, including that of Aberlady.⁵⁷ Other well-known pluralists included William Cranston, another prebendary of Aberlady and vicar of Tibbermore, and James Salmond, the vicar of Clunie. Cranston was also provost of Cults, Seaton and St Salvator's, prior of Pluscarden and principal of King's College, Aberdeen.⁵⁸ Salmond served as a procurator in Rome in the 1530s and 1540s acquiring benefices for himself and others. He was also precentor of Dunkeld (1537-8) and chancellor of Aberdeen (1542-6).⁵⁹

When the revenues of a particular benefice were appropriated the rights of patronage were also transferred and a vicar appointed to perform the pastoral functions of the parish. In some parishes the situation was not this simple and the use of various terms makes it difficult to differentiate between serving and non-serving

56. See appendix (b) 'The Parishes of the Diocese of Dunkeld'.

57. Brunton and Haig, Senators, 92-3; TA, ix, 254; ADCP, 597-8, 604; Assump. 173v; RSS, v, no. 2314.

58. RSS, iv, no. 1831, v, nos. 1008, 2653; AFA, i, p.lxiin, Watt, Fasti, 325, 373, 375.

59. RSS, ii, no. 2118, nos. 2238, 3017; Brady, W.M., The Episcopal Succession in England, Scotland and Ireland, 1400-1875 (Rome, 1876-7), i, 145, 152, 174, 194; Yester Writs, no. 605; Watt, Fasti, 14, 109.

clerics. The appropriation of parish revenues meant that very little provision was made for the serving cleric and after 1560 the situation became even more complex. At Forgandenny in 1560 there were perhaps three prebendaries and a vicar-pensioner^{ay}. In the rental of 1564, 'the holder of the prebend', John Barton, dean of Dunkeld, was unable to confirm the value of the benefice, but set it at about 60 merks, 20 of which were paid to the vicar-pensioner^{ay}.⁶⁰ At Logiebride in 1567 there was a prebendary, a vicar-pensioner^{ay}, a reader and an exhorter.

The lack of finance endangered not only the spiritual but also the material fabric of the church. With little money to pay the clergy the upkeep of the parish church became of secondary importance. In Dunkeld in the late fifteenth century money paid for absolution by sinners was used for the repair of the parish churches, however in general the standards seem to have been poor.⁶¹ In 1552 Cardinal Sermoneta in a letter to Pope Paul IV claimed that the ruinous condition of many Scottish churches was due to the 'hostile inroads and the avarice and neglect of those placed in charge of them'.⁶² Appeals from both church and government to maintain parish churches achieved little success. In 1559 the last provincial council decreed that all ruinous and dilapidated churches be repaired or rebuilt, however this and the later enactments of 1563 and 1572 went largely unheeded.⁶³

60. Dunk. Rent., 350.

61. Ibid., 305.

62. Papal Negs., 528-530.

63. APS, ii, 539; iii, 76.

The effect of the initial enthusiasm of the reformers upon the condition of church buildings is unclear. Contemporary accounts suggest that church buildings were destroyed and altars torn down. Lord Herries in his memoirs narrated that there 'now aryses tumult upon tumults, killing of priestis, sacking and pulling doune of churches'.⁶⁴ An unreliable catholic source claimed that 'the monasteries are nearly all dissolved; some completely destroyed; churches and altars are overthrown; all things holy profaned; the images of Christ and of the saints are broken and cast down'.⁶⁵ An equally biased account by Bishop John Leslie suggested that the 'Monasteries Equall tha mak with the ground, Kirkes doune tha ryve. Altaris tha brek doune'.⁶⁶ There were claims that the monastic houses of Coupar Angus and Scone suffered at the hands of the reformers, however there is also evidence that the fabric of these houses was in need of repair prior to 1560. The wholesale destruction of church property was however contrary to the kirk's interests as it lacked the resources to build its own places of worship. This financial realism is apparent in the orders given to two local lairds to sack Dunkeld cathedral. They were instructed to 'tak guid heyd that neither the dask, windocks, nor durris be ony wayis hurt or broken, eyther glassin work or iron work'. It is unclear how carefully they followed these instructions as, although Dunkeld cathedral was used as a parish church thereafter, it required

64. Herries, Lord, Historical Memoirs of the Reign of Mary, Queen of Scots (Abbotsford Club, 1836), 37-8.

65. Papal Negs., 135-6.

66. Leslie, History, ii, 406.

complete renovation in 1600. It was stipulated by the reformers that 'everie church must have durre, cloise wyndoes of glass, thak or sclait able to withhold raine, a bell to convocat the people together, a pulpite, a basyn for baptisme, and tables for the ministratioun of the Lordis Supper'.⁶⁷ Nevertheless John Davidson in his Dialog of 1573-4 attacked the standard of church buildings. The 'courteour' in the poem, who was defending Morton's reforms of the church, asked the question 'How mony waist Kirkis thair dois stand?' The answer was graphically given in the earlier tract, The Lamentation of Lady Scotland, which spoke of churches filled with 'Fedders, Fylth and Dounge' from the creatures which inhabited them.⁶⁸

The condition of the parish churches in various parts of the diocese is quite well documented, and it is apparent that much depended upon the benevolence of the crown, the bishop or a local laird to maintain the fabric of the building. Throughout the sixteenth century Strathfillan Priory, which served as the parish church, required numerous royal grants to carry out repairs, including the 'theking of the kyrk'. Despite these grants its condition at the time of the Reformation was pitiful.⁶⁹ At Inchaiden in 1579 a petition organised by Colin Campbell of Glenorchy called for the transfer of the church to Kenmore, as the present building was in need of repair and inconveniently situated. In 1585 the church was duly transferred and the old building repaired, but

67. Knox, Works, ii, 251-2.

68. Cranstoun, Satirical Poems, i, 232.

69. Inchaffray Chrs., xlvi.

rarely used.⁷⁰ In 1586 Alexander Norie, the minister at Fern, requested of David, Lord Edzell that he command the tenants of Fern to appear at the parish court to pay their taxes. This money was urgently needed to bring the slater from Brechin to repair the church roof.⁷¹ In the lowland areas many churches were likewise in a state of disrepair. At Dollar the church was not 'watterthit and laking all necessar ornamentis wythin except ane auld rewin pulpit only', though the nearby church of Alva was reported to be in good condition. Within fifty years however it had to be rebuilt, an indication that the resources were still not available to carry out regular repairs.⁷² That these parish churches were in poor condition, and seem to have remained so for a further two centuries, is largely undisputed. There is no doubt that in many areas 'our Lord still seems to be worshipped in a stable and a very wretched one', though it may have been an exaggeration to describe Scottish churches as being no better than English dog kennels.⁷³

(b) The Reformed Church Clergy, 1560-1585

The study of the reformed clergy is a complicated one and the problems encountered by Professor Donaldson and others are equally relevant to this study.⁷⁴ The study is based upon various contemporary lists, such as the Thirds of Benefices and the Register

70. Gillies, Breadalbane, 57; Christie, J., Lairds and Lands of Lochtayside (Aberfeldy, 1892), 16-18.

71. J.R.L. Crawford MSS 4.2.120.

72. Dunblane Visit., 15, 20.

73. Graham, H.G., Social Life in Scotland in the Eighteenth Century (London, 1899), ii, 23; Pennant, T., Tour in Scotland (Perth, 1979), 233-4.

74. Donaldson, Scottish Reformation, 87-8.

of Ministers, supplemented by more modern studies such as Scott's Fasti, Watt's Fasti and Haws's Scottish Parish Clergy.⁷⁵ Various problems are encountered when the two main modern studies of serving and non-serving clergy by Scott and Haws do not agree and can both be shown to contain errors. The actual identification of the clergy during the period is on the whole straightforward and can be confirmed by reference to other printed and primary sources, however there are exceptions where identification is more difficult. There are examples 'which shake ones confidence in any facile assertion that any particular cleric of the reformed church had not been one of the pre-reformation clergy and there may be many cases where there was a change of parish not to mention of name in an age when surnames were not wholly stabilised and where conclusive evidence of identity is not forthcoming'.⁷⁶ The occurrence of the same or similar names is very common and in some cases it is impossible to tell clergymen apart. This is especially true when trying to establish a clergyman's antecedents, particularly if his name was commonplace and if he had attended university. Many James Hamiltons attended St. Andrews University, but which one was the minister at Menmuir?⁷⁷ Likewise there were numerous William Ramsays and it is virtually impossible to tell whether the clergymen of that name at Inchaiden, Kemback and Moneydie were one and the same or different men.⁷⁸ In

75 See bibliography for full details.

76. Donaldson, G., Sources of Scottish History (Edinburgh, 1978), 77.

77. The most likely would appear to be the James Hamilton, who attended St. Andrews 1553-6; AFA, ii, 406; St.A.Rec. 155, 261.

78. There were definitely two William Ramsays, one in Fife and one in Perthshire.

1549 John Moncrieff was treasurer of Dunkeld, but it was unclear whether he was one of the two graduates of St. Andrews in 1512 and 1527 or one of the John Moncrieffs of Rynd, Maler or Kasche, near Perth.⁷⁹ Conversely little information is known of them except that they served in a particular parish in a particular year. All this confusion is further complicated by the mobility of many clergymen, especially in Dunkeld, where in the initial stages of the Reformation clerics, such as Robert Pont, were drafted in to counter the influence of Bishop Crichton. The use of aliases was also quite common and in the case of Thomas McGibbon, alias McGie, alias Robertson, the minister at Auchtergaven, Kinclaven and Moneydie, identification becomes even more confusing. In the Highland areas the variations of the name McGregor also cause confusion, as many clansmen were unwilling or forbidden to use their given name and preferred to choose a title more acceptable to their Campbell lairds.

Despite these problems of identification it is possible with the information available to make certain generalisations about the parish clergy, which in many aspects conform to the national pattern. Previous studies have suggested that Dunkeld was in many ways different from other dioceses, however it can be shown that in terms of antecedents, numbers and quality of clergymen Dunkeld was not as unique as once suggested.⁸⁰ This applies to the figures for the diocese as a whole, but when one divides the diocese into highland

79. RMS, iv, no. 765; RSS, iii, no. 2170; St.A.Recs., 100, 122.

80. In particular Haw comparison of the dioceses of Dunkeld and Dunblane in Proceedings of the Conference of Scottish Studies (1974).

and lowland areas distinct differences become apparent. These variations between different areas, and in many cases between neighbouring parishes, can best be explained by Professor Cowan's concept of parochial anarchy, which accounts for the various social, economic and religious forces at work in every parish.⁸¹

Those recruited to serve in the reformed church were selected according to ability, age and demand. Those clerics admitted to the ministry were, on the whole, younger and better qualified than those appointed to the subordinate offices of exhorter and reader. This was very much in accordance with the guidelines set down in the First Book of Discipline, however there was still a great deal of disquiet over the standard of applicants for the ministry.⁸² In practice the theory of these guidelines was more difficult to implement and in many areas the kirk was forced to compromise on account of the lack of willing or suitable candidates.

An indication of this in Dunkeld is the relatively large number of ministers brought in from outwith the diocese and the small number of promotions to the ministry of those serving within it. It has been suggested that conformity in Dunkeld was very low, however despite the importation of a number of ministers there was still a relatively high rate of conformity amongst the religious of the diocese. It would appear to make sense that the reformed church clergy came from the obvious source, namely the old catholic church.

81. Cowan, I.B., Regional Aspects of the Scottish Reformation (Historical Assoc., 1978).

82. BUK, i, 56.

The conformity of these catholic clergymen accounts to a certain extent for the relative ease with which the kirk was able to implement such sweeping changes in worship and church government.

The minister's duties included preaching the gospel and the administration of the sacraments, in which he was often assisted by an exhorter or a reader. In 1571 the minister at Aberdour was assisted by one of each, whilst in some other parishes, including Bendochy and Logierait, he was responsible for two readers.⁸³ The holders of the intermediate office of exhorter were permitted to preach, to conduct the Sunday morning service and, after 1565, to administer the sacraments of baptism and marriage. By 1572, however, the office had virtually disappeared with the extension of the duties of the office of the reader and promotions to the full ministry. The reader was responsible for reading the prayers, lessons and homilies and conducting the reader's service prior to the minister's sermon. In 1572 following the Concordat of Leith his functions were extended to allow those suitably qualified to perform the sacraments of marriage and baptism and to catechise children. The prohibition against the administering of the Lord's Supper continued and in 1576 again included baptism for those unable to preach. In 1579 the synod of Lothian inhibited readers from ministering sacraments and solemnising marriages, restricting them to the proclamation of bans and the reading of texts. These measures were made uniform in 1580 when the General Assembly resolved that

83. At Aberdour Peter Blackwood was assisted by John Paterson and Andrew Kirk; see appendix (c) 'The Parish Clergy in the Diocese of Dunkeld'.

readers, after examination, should be promoted or deposed . In the following year it prohibited the admission of further readers, however in practice the resolution was ignored and readers, such as John Strachan at Lethendy, continued to be appointed.⁸⁴ The abolition of the office of reader was inevitably difficult as during the 1570s it had formed the mainstay of the ministry. In 1574 there were 715 readers and only 298 ministers.⁸⁵ The lack of suitable replacements meant that the kirk was unable to promote or depose many clergymen, and many of those who were deprived of office were reinstated soon after.

The number of clergymen available throughout the diocese rarely equalled the number of parishes to be served and during the period there were numerous vacant parishes. There seems to be a certain amount of conflicting evidence regarding vacancies and those parishes narrated as vacant in 1574, at the time of the compilation of the Register of Ministers, may have been filled soon after.⁸⁶ Later in 1593 twenty-six churches were listed as vacant, leaving large areas of the diocese without a clergyman of any kind.⁸⁷ The lack of clergymen is reflected in the number of parishes receiving protestant ministration, and however the kirk spread its resources it was unable to provide for every parish. There was a distinct imbalance between

84. Scott, Fasti, iv, 165.

85. Wod. Misc., 326.

86. Donaldson, Scottish Reformation, 84; TB, 152, 248.

87. BUK, ii, 803. The vacant churches were: Abernyte, Bendochy, Ruthven, Straphillan, Inchaiden, Pitcairn, Brenmore, Kilchonnan, Weem, Mustigan, Rannoch, Strawand, Blair-in-Atholl, Ludeshil, Mauenok, Fos, Muline, Finlarige, Mennoche, Dowally, Logiebride, Auchtergaven, Kinclavin, Caputh, Lochendy, Glenshee.

the highland and lowland parishes, which was not rectified until 1574. In 1564 approximately 10% of highland parishes had protestant clergy, compared with 40% of lowland parishes. By 1567 the difference was less distinct, with 66% and 85% respectively. In 1574 over 90% of both highland and lowland parishes received protestant ministration in some form, though in many cases it was very infrequent.

These figures would seem to indicate early successes in terms of the establishment of reformed worship, however analysis of the numbers in each office shows a distinct lack of ministers throughout the period. Pluralism was very common and in many churches the irregular visit of the minister meant that worship was the responsibility of the less well-qualified exhorter or reader. In the period 1560 to 1564 there were a total of sixteen ministers, but in many cases these were short-term appointments until other candidates could be found.⁸⁸ In 1564 there were twelve ministers and by 1567 the number had risen to twenty-two. In 1574 when recruitment was at its height, there were twenty-three ministers assisted by a further thirteen from outwith the diocese acting as overseers. Up until 1585 the number fluctuated between twenty-three and thirty. Throughout the period these figures show a certain amount of consistency, and taking into account the figures after 1564 Professor Donaldson's assumption for the immediate post-Reformation period may also be applied to Dunkeld in

88. A notable example was Robert Pont, minister at Dunkeld in 1562, BUK, i, 28.

particular. The approximate figure of one minister for three or four churches conforms to the national pattern as in 1567 there were 257 ministers for 1080 churches and in 1574 289 ministers for 988 churches.⁸⁹

The number of exhorters was relatively insignificant and the highest number serving at any one time was ten in 1570. The main problem with Professor Donaldson's assumption occurs when looking at the number of readers. In 1562 there is reference to only three readers, though the number rose sharply to thirty-four in 1567. In 1574 there were sixty-four, but again some of these may have been a result of the change-overs already suggested. Thereafter the number decreased steadily from forty-two in 1576 to twenty-two in 1585. The slump in the numbers can be attributed to the attempts to phase out the office as well as natural wastage. There is, however, no corresponding rise in the number of ministers, indicating the lack of opportunities for promotion. It is possible that the decline in these figures for the 1580s and other fluctuations were the result of a lack of evidence rather than a lack of recruits. Certainly during the early years of the kirk the information regarding the number of reformed clergy may not have been available. A certain amount, however, can be assumed in the case of those clergy, who are first referred to in 1567 or 1573, but can be shown to have served in the pre-Reformation church. It may be assumed that they conformed much earlier as a reformed church stipend would have been an important

89. Wod. Misc., 326; Dr. Kirk in Patterns of Reform also maintains that there were more ministers during the early 1560s than previously suspected (pp. 130-1).

source of income. Such assumptions can probably be made about a number of reformed church clergy, who were undoubtedly offering protestant ministration prior to the first record of them in office. James Anderson, a monk of Coupar Angus, was minister at Bendochy in 1567, however his poem The Winter Night, written in the later 1570s, shows the influence of English Edwardian liturgies. This influence suggests that Anderson was a much earlier recruit to the reformed church.⁹⁰ Andrew Elder at Menmuir and Thomas McGibbon at Moneydie first occur as reformed church clergy at about the same time as Anderson, but both are known to have been protestants prior to 1560.⁹¹ These men, and others, would undoubtedly have been recruited at an early date by the kirk and installed well before 1567.⁹²

The question of antecedents is one of the major problems regarding the study of the parish clergy. The issue is an important one as it casts light on the composition of the reformed church clergy and explains to a certain extent the ease with which the Reformation was implemented. It should be remembered that the lack of pre-Reformation ecclesiastical references is not indicative of a purely post-Reformation career. Many clergymen to whom there is reference in the 1560s could easily have held office prior to that decade.⁹³ Those pre-Reformation students, especially the graduates prior to the early 1550s, would undoubtedly have required employment

90. Anderson, J., The Winter Night (Glasgow, 1713).

91. RSS, vi, no. 460; TB, 231, 250-1; Reg. Min., 15, 28.

92. This would substantiate Professor Donaldson's assertion that the number of protestant clergy remained constant; see Kirk, J., Patterns of Reform (Edinburgh, 1989), 328.

93. The antecedents of 30% of Dunkeld clergy between 1560 and 1585 are unknown or unclear.

or patronage of some kind during the intervening period.⁹⁴ There are also a few examples, such as Walter Stewart (Dowally), Walter Robertson (Dunkeld) and Thomas Irvine (Meigle), of men with pre-Reformation antecedents, who did not convert to protestantism until after the Act of Conformity of 1573. All three were cathedral clergy and supporters of Robert Crichton, hence the unwillingness to conform.⁹⁵ Taking all these factors into account many of the figures quoted below can be assumed to be higher.

The kirk's attempts to deprive the old catholic church clergy were notably unsuccessful as many of the reformed church clergy had connections with the pre-Reformation church. Professor Cowan claims that protestant success was largely due to the smooth transition from one faith to the other, which was facilitated by the close links which existed between society and parts of the pre-Reformation church. He warns, however of falling into the trap of assuming that the collapse of the catholic church was inevitable and that the success of the protestant church was based on widespread popular support. He also espouses the idea of parochial anarchy, which is central to any regional study, and points out that contradictory local differences should not be adapted to fit national patterns.⁹⁶ High rates of conformity in certain parts of the diocese would seem to indicate a willingness on the part of the clergy to accept the new church hierarchy. Many pre-Reformation clergymen, however, had

94. George Leslie, minister of Strathmiglo, 1562 (BUK, i, 13) was a student of St. Salvator's in 1532 (St.A.Recs, 241).

95. RSS, vi, no. 190; vii, no. 2578; TB, 255; Wod. Misc., 354.

96. Cowan, I.B., Regional Aspects of the Scottish Reformation (Historical Assoc., 1978), 6.

little alternative but to conform to retain their livelihood, while the kirk often had little choice but to employ those already in office. They also suggest satisfaction with, and a certain amount of loyalty on the part of the parishioners towards the former catholic clergymen. In many parishes the same clergyman served the cure prior to and after the Reformation.

The recruits to the reformed church were drawn from various sources and of the 174 clergymen who served between 1560 and 1585 60% had links with the pre-Reformation church. Of the remainder 10% appear to have had purely post-Reformation careers, whilst the antecedents of the other 30% are either unknown or unclear. The 102 clergymen with known antecedents prior to 1560 fall into the following categories: ten students, twenty-two canons, six monks, seven friars, sixteen vicars, seven priests, twenty-five chaplains, three teachers, two notaries and four laymen.⁹⁷

Approximately 30% of the reformed church clergy in Dunkeld, prior to 1585, were graduates, the vast majority having attended St. Andrews. Only one man, Duncan McClaggane (Dull), who may have attended Glasgow University, was the graduate of another Scottish university.⁹⁸ A small number, including Patrick Simpson (Cramond) and Thomas Shewan (Fern), who studied at Cambridge and Louvain respectively, graduated outwith Scotland.⁹⁹ Louvain attracted quite

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97. Dr. Kirk in Patterns of Reform perhaps underestimates some of categories when he refers to 'the occasional canon, some vicars and chaplains and one or two monks and friars' (p.326).
98. Munimenta Alme Universitatis Glasguensis (Maitland Club, 1854), ii, 175.
99. Tweedie, W.K., Select Biographies (Wodrow Soc. 1845-7), 72; McRoberts, Scottish Reformation, 324.

a few Dunkeld men, who went on to join the Society of Jesus.¹⁰⁰

Paris was also a popular choice amongst Scots, however it too had a catholic bias and had little attraction for those wishing to join the ministry.¹⁰¹ The majority of students who attended university prior to the Reformation also served in the catholic church before 1560. There are some, however, for whom there is no evidence of service. The two clergymen who attended university during the 1530s presumably held ecclesiastical office of some kind during the preceding thirty years. The five graduates of the 1550s may also have sought employment or may have preferred to bide their time in anticipation of the events of 1560. However, as suggested earlier, the collapse of the catholic church would not have been considered inevitable and such hopes in the 1550s were perhaps unlikely. The post-Reformation students went into the ministry soon after graduation, hence its relative youthfulness. Three, however, were 'mature' students; Thomas Biggar (Auchtertool) and William Bradfuite (Strathmiglo), were pre-Reformation canons of St. Andrews, and Thomas McGibbon (Moneydie) was a teacher in Dundee during the 1540s and 1550s.¹⁰²

The great paradox of St. Andrews University was the complete change in its role during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, from the catholic church's champion of orthodoxy to the bastion of the new reformed kirk.¹⁰³ The three colleges at the time of the Reformation, St. Salvator's, St. Leonard's and St. Mary's, were initially founded to

100. See chapter 5, 'The Jesuit Missions and the diocese of Dunkeld'.

101. Paris University was a recruiting ground for Scottish Jesuits during the early 1580s.

102. GRH Chrs., no. 2015; Donaldson, Scottish Reformation, 87.

103. Cant, R.G., the University of St. Andrews, 45.

counter the spread of heresy, however during the course of their existence their functions changed dramatically. St. Salvator's, founded in 1450 by Bishop James Kennedy, was the pre-eminent college, offering courses in theology and the arts. St. Leonard's, founded in 1512 by Archbishop Alexander Stewart and Prior John Hepburn, was established to supply regular clergy for St. Andrews Priory, while St. Mary's, founded in 1538 by James Beaton, supplied secular clergy for the archdiocese.¹⁰⁴

As with any study of sixteenth century clergy identification is a common problem. Duplication of names can be confusing, especially amongst some of the earlier graduates. In 1520 Alexander Ramsay was a student of St. Leonard's and may perhaps have been the aged protestant minister at Alyth. The timing of his ministry, prior to 1563, and his association with the protestant college of St. Leonard's give credence to the assumption that he was one and the same man.¹⁰⁵ The later students of 1540s and 1550s are more easily identifiable and fall into the category of the younger, better-educated clergymen, who were encouraged to enter the ministry soon after 1560.

Prior to the Reformation as many as thirty of Dunkeld's later protestant clergymen were graduates of St. Andrews. Many, but not all, became ministers. Others were required to initially serve as exhorters or readers and were later promoted to the ministry having fulfilled the criteria laid down in the First Book of Discipline. Between 1560 and 1574 a further twenty St. Andrews graduates were

104. Ibid., 23-38.

105. Bamff Chrs., 78; St.A.Recs., 216.

recruited and during this later period the qualifications for the ministry would appear to have been equally stringent. Walter Balcanquhal, a leading radical minister of the 1580s, was initially exhorter at Auchtertool before his promotion to St. Giles.¹⁰⁶

Over the period as a whole the number of clergymen from each college was fairly consistent; seventeen from St. Leonards' and thirteen from both St. Salvators' and St. Marys'. When broken down into pre-Reformation and post-Reformation periods one gains an interesting insight into the persuasion of each college. The flow of graduates from St. Leonards' remained consistent with the college supplying nine clergymen before 1560 and eight after. However it was with St. Salvators' and St. Marys' that the most dramatic changes were evident. Prior to 1560 St. Salvators' supplied twelve post-Reformation clerics, while St. Marys' supplied only three. After 1560 the figures were reversed with St. Salvators' supplying one clergyman and St. Marys' ten. The decline of St. Salvators' can be attributed to its pre-Reformation orthodoxy and its catholic principal, William Cranston, and the rise of St. Marys' to its protestant principal John Douglas.¹⁰⁷

The relationship between the three colleges was often strained. Bannatyne related 'thair has evir bene of auld a privie hatred of the uther two colleges against St. Leonards'.¹⁰⁸ After the execution of Patrick Hamilton in 1528 the University had been split. Reformed

106. Reg. Min., 25; Wod. Misc., 368.

107. Cranston, a well-known catholic, was vicar of Tibbermore, in Dunkeld: RSS, iv, no. 1831; v, no. 2653.

108. Bannatyne, R., Journal of the Transactions in Scotland (Edinburgh, 1806), 375-385.

doctrines were debated and, at times, openly taught at St. Leonard's and the 'reek of Master Patrick Hamilton' encouraged many students to drink 'of St. Leonard's Well'.¹⁰⁹ The enthusiasm for protestantism was less overt during the clampdown by Cardinal Beaton in the 1540s, which included the appointment of John Annand, 'a rottin papist', as principal. Beaton also approved the appointment of his cousin Archibald Hay as principal of St Mary's.¹¹⁰ Orthodoxy was maintained at St. Salvator's by a succession of conservative principals. John Major, principal from 1534 to 1550, was a pillar of the catholic church, and while the protestants regarded him as a moderating influence, one of his successors William Cranston was regarded with contempt by the protestants. St. Salvator's also provided refuge for various English opponents of Henry VIII's dissolution of the monasteries, including Richard Hilliard and Richard Marshall, who were used by David Beaton in the fight against the spread of Lutheranism. Relations were equally strained after the Reformation when St. Leonard's sided with Moray and Knox and St. Salvator's and St. Mary's with the Hamilton faction.¹¹¹

Although the religious affiliation of each college was fairly evident no single college was responsible for producing a significantly greater number of protestant clergy than any other. The influence of principal Gavin Logie of St. Leonard's, who 'taught the truthe secretlie to manie of his schollers', is demonstrated by the fact that over half of the pre-Reformation graduates were from

109. Knox, Works, i, 18; Calderwood, History, i, 83-6.

110. AFA, i, p.lxii and n.

111. Ibid., i, p.lxvi; St.A. Rent, xxxvi, 95, 107, 121, 137; Sanderson, Cardinal of Scotland, 123.

the 1520s and 1530s.¹¹² From 1553 onwards the college was overtly protestant and yet only one graduate joined the ministry in Dunkeld. During the post-Reformation period only one student, Walter Balcanquhal, was an obvious product of the Buchanan principalship. During the 1580s and 1590s Balcanquhal was a vociferous opponent of the crown and the court, on whom Buchanan had earlier advocated restrictions.¹¹³ At St. Mary's John Douglas, later archbishop of St. Andrews, was an elder of the kirk session of St. Andrews, and while St. Leonard's was more overtly protestant, St. Mary's under Douglas produced a larger number of protestant clergy for Dunkeld.¹¹⁴ Even the supposedly orthodox St. Salvator's produced more protestant clergy, who went on to Dunkeld. John Rutherford, another elder of the kirk session of St. Andrews, was appointed in succession to the catholic William Cranston, but proved generally ineffective.¹¹⁵

Despite the prominence of protestant doctrines there were amongst the graduates of St. Andrews some staunch defenders of the catholic faith. In 1551 Edmund Hay and Robert Abercrombie were students of St. Salvator's and St. Mary's respectively and were later members of the Society of Jesus. Another Jesuit, and later protestant clergyman, Thomas Smeaton, was a student of St. Salvator's in 1556.¹¹⁶ At various times throughout the pre-Reformation period there were other interesting groups of students, whose student acquaintances may have influenced their later activities. In

112. Ibid., i, xlviiii-xlix; Calderwood, History, i, 104.

113. AFA, ii, 429, 434; St.A.Recs., 163, 165, 273.

114. AFA, i, pp.lxiin, lxv-lxvii.

115. Ibid., i, pp.lxvi-lxvii.

116. Ibid., ii, 401-415; St.A.Recs., 150, 154, 255, 259.

1516 Bishop Robert Crichton and superintendent John Winram were contemporaries, which may have been a factor in Winram's later reluctance to pursue the recusant bishop. Crichton's religious development obviously pursued a different path from *that* of two of his other contemporaries, Alexander Alesius and John Duncanson.¹¹⁷ A considerable number of Crichton's cathedral clergy were also St. Andrews graduates, two of the earliest being George Cook and John Stevenson, both graduates of St. Leonard's.¹¹⁸ Since conformity was lower amongst the cathedral clergy less emphasis can be placed on the influence of a university background.

Perhaps as many as twenty-two canons conformed, including six secular canons from Dunkeld, one from Argyll and possibly one from Caithness. Those canons regular who had previously served as vicars in churches appropriated to their houses, were more willing to serve in the reformed church. The Augustinian houses supplied at least eighteen canons, the majority of whom showed little mobility and continued to serve in those churches in the vicinity of or appropriated to their houses. The priory of St. Andrews supplied five canons, four of whom, Thomas Biggar (Auchtertool), William Bradfuite (Strathmiglo), Alexander Muir (Strathmiglo) and Peter Watson (Leslie), served in churches in Fife. The fifth, David Robertson, was minister of Tealing, near Dundee.¹¹⁹ Inchaffray provided four canons, William Melrose (Madderty), Patrick Murray

116. Ibid., ii, 401-415; St.A.Recs., 150, 154, 255, 259.

117. AFA, ii, 312, 318; St.A.Recs., 103-5.

118. AFA, ii, 340, 346; St.A.Recs., 111-2, 114, 216, 218.

119. GRH Chrs., no. 2015; St.A.Chrs., no. 323; BUK, i, 222; Laing Chrs., no. 1082.

(Tibbermore) and George Spens (Madderty) who all served in Strathearn and a fourth, John Neillis, who was reader at Clunie, near Dunkeld.¹²⁰ Two of Holyrood's conforming clergy, Peter Blackwood (Aberdour) and Alexander Forrester (Aberlady), served in churches near Edinburgh, while the third, Thomas Maxwell, was perhaps the reader at Ruthven, in Angus.¹²¹ Inchcolm and Scone supplied two canons each, with the respective clergymen, Andrew Angus (Leslie) and John Brounhill (Dalgety) and Thomas Cruikshank (Lundeiff) and Thomas Morrison (Megginch), serving in parishes in the vicinity of their houses. Inchmahome, Cambuskenneth and Strathfillan supplied one canon each, who likewise served locally. The influence behind many of those who conformed was the commendators of their houses, such as James Stewart at St. Andrews and Alexander Gordon at Inchaffray.¹²²

The monks played little part on either side in the Reformation, being unsuited for catholic or protestant evangelism. It has been suggested that they were more interested in returning to a stricter devotion, which was manifested in the increasing number of brothers and a renewed popularity of traditional devotions. Only six monks from four different communities conformed and in common with the canons showed little mobility outwith their localities. James Anderson and Robert Drysdale from Coupar Angus were the minister and reader at nearby Bendochy. The monastic communities at Culross, Dunfermline and Lindores provided clergymen for the Fife parishes

120. Wod. Misc., 356, 359; Fittis, Perth, 209.

121. Reg. Min., 25-6; Wod. Misc., 370; Scott, Fasti, v, 274.

122. See chapter 4 for fuller details of the relationship between Dunkeld and the religious houses.

of Crombie, Beath and Strathmiglo.¹²³

Only seven friars conformed, mainly from the friaries in or around Perth, which supplied clergymen for five local parishes, Aberdalgie, Forgandenny, Muckersie, Redgorton and Tibbermore. One of the most influential friars to conform was Alexander Young, sometime prior of the Carmelite friary of Tullilum and long-serving minister of Tibbermore. Young was first recorded as a minister of the reformed church in 1567, but six years prior had been presented to the glebe of Tibbermore by Superintendent Winram, an indication that he was perhaps already minister of that parish.¹²⁴ Young was minister at Aberdalgie, Dupplin, Methven and Pitcairn and in 1571-2 was added to the Dunkeld chapter for the election of the new bishop. The Perth historian R.S. Fittis spoke highly of him: 'he was a man holding a fair character before the world and possessing good natural abilities and a well cultivated mind. He seems to have diligently and impartially studied the great religious controversy which was agitating Christendom and his enquiries resulted in his being fully persuaded of the truth of the new doctrines'.¹²⁵

The suppression of the friars, which was a factor in the lack of recruits from amongst their ranks, was an indication of the importance attached to them by the kirk. Their preaching made them formidable opponents, particularly in the highland areas of Scotland, where clergymen of either persuasion were scarce. In the towns the

123. John Hutchison, minister Crombie 1567-85; Alexander Stevin, reader Beath 1569-79; John Mason, reader Strathmiglo 1563.

124. TB, 98, 153.

125. Fittis, Perth, 208-9.

friars came under a great deal of attack, especially in response to their role as urban landlords. Pre-Reformation attacks on the Blackfriars and the *monks* of the Charterhouse in Perth, led to legislation in 1546 and 1555 to try to ensure their safety.¹²⁶

Friar John Hay's Chronicle of the Scots Observant Provinces underplays the number of Observant friars joining the reformed church, though the number from all orders was certainly small.¹²⁷

Examples of pre-Reformation heresy amongst friars are scarce, although Calderwood does mention a friar of the Perth Charterhouse who married and fled to England, where he became a minister.¹²⁸

Examples of post-Reformation recusant friars are *relatively few*, but two of the most active were the Greyfriars Robert Veitch and Father Leitch, who were preaching all over Scotland well into the 1580s.¹²⁹

Due to the complexity of the vicarage system it is often difficult to tell who was the vicar of a parish and whether or not he actually served the cure. The clergyman responsible for the pastoral welfare of the parish was known by a variety of names: vicar, curate, parson, vicar-pensionary *and* vicar-perpetual, all of which were used very loosely. Within this group sixteen clergymen conformed and served and it is probable that the majority served in their pre-Reformation parishes. This would appear to be the case as it has been shown that a relatively small number of beneficed clergy conformed due to a lack of familiarity with pastoral duties and the

126. *RSS*, iv, nos. 2390, 2799.

127. Durkan, J., 'The Observant Franciscan Province in Scotland', *IR*, xxxv (1984), 54.

128. Calderwood, *History*, i, 124.

129. Anderson, W.J., 'Narratives of the Scottish Reformation', *IR*, vii (1956), 32.

and the insignificance of a reformed church stipend. Another vague category was that of priests and chaplains, of whom thirty-two, usually local men, conformed and served. In many cases they are merely designed as a chaplain or priest from a particular place and it is often unclear whether they were previously private chaplains, chantry priests or one of the other types of religious to be found within the diocese.

The claim of the papal envoy, Nicholas de Gouda, that many of the new protestant clergy were laymen does not seem appropriate to Dunkeld, where very few clergymen were previously laymen. The most celebrated layman was the Dundonian, David Ferguson (Dunfermline and Rosyth), a self-educated skinner. Ferguson never attended university, but acquired a thorough knowledge of the classical languages and divinity. Prior to the Reformation he was repeatedly brought before the Dundee justices, accused of abusing the scriptures, disputing on erroneous opinions and eating flesh at Lent.¹³⁰ Gregor McGregor alias Dougalsen, the reader at Moulin, was a servant of James McGregor, dean of Lismore. The name, or variations thereof, was very common in Breadalbane, and this man was probably one of the clerical McGregors already serving at Fortingall or in Glenlyon.¹³¹ Edmond Moncrieff (Tibbermore) had been a soldier in France under Ruthven and Cassillis, and along with Robert Ostlair, the chaplain of St. Katherine's in Forgandenny, had perhaps served as

130. Scott, Fasti, v, 26; McCrie, T., Life of John Knox (Edinburgh, 1839), i, 446.

131. SRO Breadalbane Mun. GD 112/2/77/3; Wod. Misc., 356.

a military chaplain. Both were kinsmen of Lord Ruthven.¹³² David Ramsay or Graham (Alyth) had been a servant of the bishop of Dunkeld and the archbishop of Glasgow and was possibly a chaplain in both cathedrals.¹³³ The examples of pre-Reformation laymen are not numerous and analysis of the evidence relating to other groups suggests that the kirk was relatively successful in recruiting the old catholic clergy.¹³⁴

The catholics were highly scathing of the educational and moral standards of these new clergymen. In 1562 the Jesuit, Nicholas de Gouda, who spent a part of his Scottish mission in Dunkeld, described them as 'apostate monks or laymen of low rank, and are quite unlearned, being tailors, shoemakers, tanners and the like'.¹³⁵ Ninian Winzet accused the kirk of admitting as ministers 'young children of na erudition, except the reiding of Inglis and small enteres in grammar'.¹³⁶ Some of those admitted to the ministry, such as David Ferguson (Dunfermline and Rosyth), were laymen, however he could never be described as being of 'na erudition' as he was well-versed in scripture and classical languages.¹³⁷ As already mentioned a sizeable proportion of the reformed clergy were university graduates and Winzet's claim that the kirk appointed poorly educated children may have been true to the

132. RPC, i, 136.

133. RSS, iv, nos. 4, 879; TB, 251; Wod. Misc., 354.

134. It is possible that a large proportion of the 30% of clergymen whose antecedents are not known may have been laymen, however there is no evidence to substantiate this.

135. Papal Negs., 135.

136. Winzet, Certain Tractates, ed. Hewison, J.K. (STS, 1888), i, 101.

137. Scott, Fasti, v, 26.

extent that young graduates were assigned to many parishes. More often than not however the poorly educated clerics were those old catholic clergy appointed to serve as readers and exhorters.

The criticism of the standard of the parish clergy was not restricted to catholic propagandists. In December 1562 complaints were levelled against Erskine of Dun, in the General Assembly, 'that there were manie popische priestis, unabill and of wicked life, admitted to reading kirks within his diocese'. He was also called to task over the appointment of unsuitable ministers, exhorters and elders, who were appointed contrary to the instructions contained in the First Book of Discipline.¹³⁸ The General Assembly was acutely aware of the problems of recruitment and two years later appointed a group of leading ministers, including John Knox, to try the clergy 'becaus it was murmured that manie ignorant men, and of bad conversation war admitted to be ministers, exhorters and readers'.¹³⁹ The problem did not improve with the financial and administrative re-organisation of the kirk as ten years later John Davidson in his Dialog still complained of a shortage of suitably qualified clergy. He claimed that there were less than 200 ministers of whom hardly twenty were properly qualified.¹⁴⁰ The problems were apparent for many years thereafter and demission on the charge of a 'lack of knowledge in the grunds of religion' was not uncommon amongst Dunkeld clergy.

While the complaints of the likes of Knox and Davidson were

138. BUK, i, 28.

139. Ibid, i, 50.

140. Bardgett, F.D., 'Four Parische Kirkis to Ane Preicheir', RSCHS, xxii (1986), 197, 203.

justified, they should perhaps be put into perspective, as amongst the clergy in Dunkeld were a number of well-educated and able ministers. While the literacy and the effectiveness of a clergyman are two separate issues, what he wrote or read is of interest.

Two of the better known authors were James Anderson (Bendochy), whose anti-papist poem, The Winter Night was dedicated to Erskine of Dun, and William Lauder (Forgandenny) who penned the Tractate concerning the Office and Dewtie of Kyngis, Spiritual Pastoris and Temporall Jugis.¹⁴¹

The contents of protocol books also give interesting insights into the inclinations of their author. An entry in the protocol book of Alexander Ramsay (Alyth) in 1561 is a transcription of a vernacular Scots poem Of ye extreme jugement, revealing an interest in escatology, the doctrine of the final judgement.¹⁴²

Alexander Maxwell's protocol book contains extracts from An Exclamatioun aganis Idolatry by Sir David Lindsay of the Mount.¹⁴³

An examination of Early Scottish Libraries by Dr. John Durkan and Father Anthony Ross reveals that a large number of clergy owned collections of books.¹⁴⁴ Thomas McGibbon (Moneydie) possessed a considerable library, which included Calvin's Institutes and Commentary on the Book of Exodus, as well as a Hebrew grammar and a Greek dictionary. His classical collection included works by Herodianus, Cicero and Virgil.¹⁴⁵

141. Scott, Fasti, iv, 209; Anderson, J., The Winter Night (Glasgow, 1713).

142. Bamff Chrs., 78.

143. Flett, I., The Geneva of Scotland, (St. Andrews M.Phil., 1971). 54, 65; Maxwell was reader at Tealing, near Dundee, TB, 233.

144. Durkan, J. and Ross, A., Early Scottish Libraries (Glasgow, 1961) [hereafter ESL].

145. ESL, 127; SRO, Edinburgh Testaments cc8/8/31 fo. 153.

Haws in his study comparing the dioceses of Dunkeld and Dunblane concluded that the former showed no overwhelming continuity in its parish personnel from the old church to the new.¹⁴⁶ His conclusion that sixteen clergymen conformed and served is a miscalculation and the figure is in fact over twice that number. Of the thirty-five parish clergy who conformed twenty-six served in the same parish following the Reformation.¹⁴⁷ This figure of 50% conformity is confirmed by studies of neighbouring areas. In Dunblane, 'which was conservative in its old church diocesan hierarchy, the general trend found throughout the country of recruiting new clerics from the old church is confirmed'.¹⁴⁸ In that diocese 47% of clergymen in office between 1560 and 1570 conformed. Conformity was especially high amongst the readers, of whom 60% were pre-Reformation serving clergy. In Angus and Mearns thirteen clerics conformed and served in the same parish, whilst 50% of the readers were 'popische priestis'.¹⁴⁹ In Dunkeld 60% of ministers and 55% of readers, for the period up to 1585, were pre-Reformation churchmen. For the period 1560 to 1570 the figures are higher, with 70% of ministers and 65% of readers having

146. Haws, C., 'The Parish Clergy in the Dioceses of Dunblane and Dunkeld at the Reformation', Proceedings of the Conference of Scottish Studies (1974), 16.

147. Ibid., 14.

148. Todd, J.R., The Reformation in the Diocese of Dunblane (Edinburgh Ph.D, 1973), 201.

149. Bardgett, F.D., Scotland Reformed: The Reformation in Angus and the Mearns (Edinburgh, 1989), 92.

pre-Reformation antecedents.¹⁵⁰ The majority who conformed did so prior to 1573, except for four, who conformed after the Act of Conformity of that year. These late converts were connected with the conservative cathedral chapter and their conformity was a tacit acceptance of the establishment of the protestant church and the erosion of the power of the chapter following its re-organisation in 1571.

An important factor when considering antecedents is the question of age. To calculate average ages at the time of appointment it is necessary to do some juggling with figures. To make such calculations possible the clergy have been divided into two groups; those whose date of birth is known and those whose is not. Using the date of birth it is possible to estimate roughly a clergyman's age at his first appointment, however the calculation is not wholly accurate as the first reference is not necessarily the date of a cleric's first ecclesiastical appointment. To calculate the average age of those whose date of birth is known, eighteen years, the modern age of consent, or the approximate age at which a student might graduate in the sixteenth century, has been added to the difference between the date of the first appointment and the next earliest reference, which in many cases are the same. The average age for the first group was thirty-eight compared with thirty-four for the group as a whole, including those whose date of birth is not known. The ages for exhorters worked out on the same basis are

150. These percentages can only be considered approximate, but even allowing a generous amount of lee-way for mis-identification they do indicate that conformity in Dunkeld was higher than previously suggested.

thirty-six and thirty-one, but the small numbers make the figures even less accurate. As would be expected there is less information relating to the subordinate office of reader, hence the wider discrepancy between the ages of forty-eight and thirty-seven, though the average might be expected to be towards the top of the range. Although these calculations must be considered very approximate there is enough evidence available to make the general conclusion that ministers were drawn from the under forty and readers from the over forty age groups.

Another important factor, related to the question of age, was length of service. Of the 174 clergy of the post-Reformation period 20% served for over 20 years, many of these clergymen serving their whole careers in the one parish. Andrew Angus (Leslie) and Robert Burn (Dollar) both conformed and served their pre-Reformation churches until the 1590s, whilst James Sanderson (Alyth) and Alexander Tyrie (Auchterhouse) served into the seventeenth century. Sanderson was in fact reader at Alyth for fifty years.¹⁵¹ Over 30% of the reformed church clergy served for over ten years indicating a certain amount of stability. The fact that 50% served for less than five years can be interpreted in various ways. Firstly it is indicative of a great deal of mobility amongst clergy, especially during the early years of the Reformation when leading ministers were drafted into Dunkeld to counter the influence of Robert Crichton. Secondly it reflects the haphazard establishment of the kirk and the various temporary appointments of overseers from outwith the diocese.

151. Reg. Min., 19; Wod. Misc., 354; Scott, Fasti, viii, 471.



Finally the most common explanation is the lack of information regarding many clergymen, to whom there is only one reference. Since much of the evidence is based on scattered references all these calculations can be considered as minimal. Overall their relevance cannot be overstressed when one considers that the success of the Reformation was, to a great extent, based upon the vital link with the old catholic church.

In a church short of suitably qualified recruits promotion to the ministry was a problem. The guidelines for promotion were laid down in the First Book of Discipline. Readers were to exercise themselves 'till they grow to greater perfection' and were then deemed suitable for promotion 'if from reading he begin to exhort and explain the scriptures then out his stipend be augmented till finally he come to the honour of minister'.¹⁵² The number of promotions in Dunkeld was relatively small and some of these were by necessity rather than merit. Others were the result of the abolition of the office of exhorter and the attempted phasing-out of the office of reader. Two readers were promoted to be exhorters but both were later demoted to the readership, as were a further three exhorters. During the whole period only nine readers and nine exhorters were promoted to the ministry.¹⁵³ The relatively small number is perhaps an indication of the limited educational qualifications and advanced age of many of the lower clergy. As a result of these limitations

152. Cameron, J.K. (ed.), The First Book of Discipline (Edinburgh, 1972), 289-90 [hereafter FBD].

153. These figures include exhorters from outwith the diocese promoted to the ministry within.

most readers continued in office for a considerable number of years and usually for their entire careers.

The most common limitation to promotion from the ranks was the employment of ministers from outwith the diocese, recruited during the early years of the establishment of the reformed church to limit the influence of the catholic faction in Dunkeld. Influential ministers, such as Robert Pont (Dunkeld) and Andrew Simpson (Cargill) were drafted into the diocese, leaving little opportunity for the promotion of local men.¹⁵⁴ The disjointedness of the diocese and the influence of John Winram, the superintendent of Fife, led to a great deal of mobility amongst men whose links were with St. Andrews rather than Dunkeld. For many of them an appointment in Dunkeld was often a stepping stone to a more lucrative post at ministerial level or above. James Anderson (Bendochy) became minister at Stirling in 1582 and Walter Balcanquhal, exhorter at Auchtertool, became minister at St. Giles and Trinity College in Edinburgh. Balcanquhal and Robert Pont (Dunkeld) were two of the leading radicals of the 1580s and were vociferous opponents of Morton, Lennox and Arran. Balcanquhal was particularly vitriolic over the excesses of the court, accusing them of incompetence and worldliness. Following the Black Acts of 1584 both fled to England, but returned in the following year when relations between the crown and the kirk had improved.¹⁵⁵ Four ministers, David Ferguson (Rosyth), James

154. In some cases, the appointments, including those of Pont and Simpson, were only short-term. Pont was soon after transferred to Moray and Simpson to Dunbar.

155. Reg. Min., 19; Scott, Fasti, i, 52; v, 252.

Nicholson (Meigle), Robert Pont (Dunkeld) and John Spottiswoode (Cramond) went on to become moderators of the General Assembly and at least twenty others were commissioners for various parts of Perth, Angus, Stormont, Mearns, Fife and Linlithgow. Few however were as committed as the aforementioned James Anderson, who was a commissioner for over thirty years.

During the mid-1560s Anderson, a monk of Coupar Angus from 1558 until 1584, became minister of Bendochy, Cargill, Collace and Kettins.¹⁵⁶ His extensive career as a reformed church commissioner began in 1572 when he was appointed to a committee to oversee the planting of kirks, and in the following year he was a member of another supervisory committee to oversee bishops, superintendents and other commissioners.¹⁵⁷ In 1576 he was assistant to the commissioner for Angus and Mearns and Stormont and Gowrie and in 1578 was co-commissioner, with William Christieson, for Marr, Garroch, Angus and Mearns.¹⁵⁸ In 1579, along with James Row, he was commissioner for Dunkeld, his salary being paid out of the Thirds of Benefices.¹⁵⁹ Anderson must have discharged his duties with considerable efficiency as in 1580, along with Andrew Simpson and John Davidson, he was put forward as a candidate for the ministry at Perth, vacant following the death of John Row. Promotion however was not forthcoming and he spent the next year working alongside

156. CA Chrs, ii, 222, 243; Reg. Min., 19; Wod. Misc., 355; TB, 250; RSS, vi, no. 2084.

157. BUK, i, 256, 288.

158. Ibid, ii, 355, 416.

159. Ibid, ii, 465.

Erskine of Dun, William Christieson and James Melville setting up kirk sessions in Angus and Mearns.¹⁶⁰ At the end of 1581 he was commissioner for both Dunkeld and Angus and was one of the ministers deemed by the Assembly to be suitable to fill the vacancies at St. Andrews and elsewhere.¹⁶¹ In 1582 Anderson was translated to Stirling and, despite his increased workload, his other duties did not diminish.¹⁶² In 1583 he was part of a delegation chosen to present articles and complaints of the Assembly to the king and was also responsible for discipline and policy within the presbyteries from the Forth to Berwick.¹⁶³ In 1586 he attended the Assembly as commissioner for Stirling and was appointed commissioner of Dunblane for a year.¹⁶⁴ In 1587 he was again on a committee to present the petitions of the General Assembly to the king and the lords of Articles and in the following year was given the honour of preaching in Edinburgh.¹⁶⁵ In his latter years he appears to have been given only two commissions, one in Angus in 1590 and another in Meigle in 1602, shortly after which he died.¹⁶⁶

Some of Dunkeld's leading ministers became prominent enough to be named in Nicol Burne's scathing attack on the reformed church. Burne was a professor at St. Andrews, who, having turned Roman Catholic, fled to Paris, where he produced his Admonition of 1581. At least eight Dunkeld ministers were attacked, as were the two

160. Ibid, ii, 468, 487.

161. Ibid, ii, 531, 539.

162. Scott, Fasti, v, 252.

163. BUK, ii, 628, 637.

164. Ibid, ii, 647-8, 664;

165. Ibid, ii, 700, 730.

166. Ibid, ii, 763; iii, 975.

leading St. Andrews churchmen, 'Wyrame, the loun' and 'Adamson, in-Constant, heater of God'. Adamson was also described as 'wyse and substile lyk a tod'. Others under attack included Peter Watson (Leslie) 'the monk, unthriftie campion', David Ferguson (Rosyth) 'the braggand' and Robert Pont (Dunkeld) 'ambassad for Sathan'. Reference was also made to William Glass (Dunkeld) Peter Blackwood (Aberdour), Thomas McGhee (Moneydie), Walter Balcanquhal (Auchtertool) and Andrew Simpson (Cargill). Burne's attack came at a time when the religious climate seemed to favour the catholics and he recommended that with this changing climate the protestants should 'to Geneue haist with speed'.¹⁶⁷

Four ministers were appointed to the episcopate, all four appointments being surrounded by controversy. James Paton, the minister of Dollar, was appointed bishop of Dunkeld in 1572.¹⁶⁸ He was criticised for entering into a simoniacal pact with the Earl of Argyll and was regularly rebuked by the General Assembly for his various failings. Alexander Hepburn, a former schoolmaster and minister at Little Dunkeld, was appointed to the bishopric of Ross in 1574.¹⁶⁹ His appointment was not popular with the brethren 'who with ane consent opposed the said exercise and doctrine'.¹⁷⁰ By 1578 Hepburn was dead, having been deprived of food and medicine during a period of illness, by Colin McKenzie of Kintail. This harsh treatment was the result of the bond between McKenzie and John

167. 'Ane Admonition to the Antichristian Ministeris in the Deformit Kirk of Scotland', in Cranstoun, Satirical Poems, i, 333.

168. Dunblane Visit., 19; Watt, Fasti, 100

169. Wod. Misc., 355; Watt, Fasti, 270.

170. BUK, i, 326.

Grant of Freuchy against Atholl, who had maintained contact with Hepburn following his promotion.¹⁷¹ Patrick Adamson, who was minister at Leslie, was archbishop of St. Andrews from 1575 to 1592.¹⁷² He was frequently at loggerheads with the General Assembly concerning doctrine and other offences, including non-residence and non-payment of stipends. He was regarded by James Melville as a 'maist dangeris enemy of the kirk'.¹⁷³ Finally James Nicholson, the minister of Meigle, became bishop of Dunkeld in 1607, however he died shortly after being appointed. He seemingly died a troubled man as 'he had put a mitre on his head'. As a former moderator of the General Assembly his acceptance of a bishopric was a blow to the kirk, especially as he had been one of the leading opponents of episcopacy.¹⁷⁴

(c) Finance and Administration in the Diocese of Dunkeld

Central to the problems encountered by the reformed church was the question of finance. The proposals of the first General Assembly to exclude the catholic clergy and transfer their patrimony were unrealistic. Early attempts to sort out the question of benefices were unsuccessful and the Assembly was unable to fulfil its resolution that 'those in the ministry of the Popes kirk should receive no provision bar that made for paupers'.¹⁷⁵ In response a series of financial expedients were devised and in January 1561 the

171. RSS, vi, nos. 1646, 1693, 2090; RPC, lii, 88-91.

172. Watt, Fasti, 299.

173. Melville, Diary, 293.

174. Reg. Pres., iv, fo. 8v; Melville, Diary, 702; Calderwood, History, vi, 647, 666, 671, 677.

175. BUK, i, 5.

Lords decided that beneficed men who acknowledged the reformed faith should continue to enjoy their income, as long as they contributed to the upkeep of the new protestant clergy. In February 1562, following the offer of a quarter of their livings by four bishops, including Robert Crichton, it was decided that the former holders should be allowed to retain two-thirds, while the remaining one-third was to be used to meet the requirements of the crown and the kirk. This compromise was by no means original as the assumption of thirds was merely another form of ecclesiastical subversion in the same vein as the three-tenths or the Great Tax of James V.¹⁷⁶ The kirk was naturally reluctant to accept this compromise and could see little justification for this crown appropriation and even less for the share retained by the prior incumbents. It warned that until proper provision was made for the ministry 'the people sall retene the haill in thair hands'.¹⁷⁷ The early years of the system were plagued by mismanagement and even in those areas where it worked the amounts paid to clergymen were insufficient to meet their needs. In the General Assembly the ministers complained that 'thair livings are so appoynted, that the maist part sall live but a beggars lyfe'.¹⁷⁸ In 1562 the plight of the clergy was highlighted by David Ferguson, who claimed 'a great number of us have lived in great penurie', many ministers having to rely on charity for almost a year.¹⁷⁹ In the following year Knox complained that 'the graid and the effairis of

176. McRoberts, Scottish Reformation, 68.

177. BUK, i, 23.

178. Ibid, i, 22.

179. Ferguson, D., Tracts, 1563-72, ed. J. Lee (Bannatyne Club, 1860), 11.

the knycheing wer so gryping that the mynisteris stipendis could nocht be payit'.¹⁸⁰ In 1566 attempts were made to remedy the situation, which had been 'sa planelie abusit be unsaciabill and gredie askeris'.¹⁸¹ In the burghs those revenues previously assigned to chaplains were to be given to schools, hospitals and for other 'godly uses'.¹⁸² The proposal, however, did not take effect until the following year when the queen formally transferred the revenues.¹⁸³ These revenues were likewise subject to appropriation and on top of this the burghs were faced with the problem of supporting the former incumbents, who at Rosyth continued to vex the civic authorities until as late as 1576. The improved political position of the kirk after 1567 had little effect upon the financial administration and despite the act of that year, that the thirds be paid to the 'defraudit clergy', they remained in 'greit povertie and necessitie'.¹⁸⁴ No attempt was made to remove the former catholic incumbents and in many cases those benefices which had become vacant through death or forfeiture were re-assigned to equally unqualified men. In March 1571 the General Assembly wrote to the Regent and the privy council pleading that the question of presentations be carefully considered and in August of the following year Knox warned the Assembly of the consequences if it suffered 'unworthie men to be thrust into the ministerie of the kirk'.¹⁸⁵

180. Knox, History, ii, 417.

181. RPC, i, 478.

182. Ibid, i, 202.

183. RSS, iv, p. xiv.

184. APS, iii, 24.

185. BUK, i, 185-8; Knox, Works, vi, 605; Calderwood, History, iii, 134.

Although the anomalies of the financial administration were gradually resolved the clergy continued to draw their income from a variety of sources. As late as 1590 William Sinclair, the reader at Preston, had his 'stipend gevin furth in pensioun and he is forceit to seik it ellisquhair'. Lay patronage was another source of income and was probably more widespread than suspected due to the lack of extant records. Colin Campbell of Glenorchy, having been influenced by Knox when he preached at Castle Campbell, near Dollar, installed William Ramsay as minister at Inchaiden.¹⁸⁶ Ramsay had links with the Campbells as early as 1530 and served as a chaplain and notary around Lochtayside throughout the 1540s and 1550s.¹⁸⁷ During the second half of the sixteenth century the Campbells carefully controlled the religious activities of their tenants and maintained close links with Ramsay's successors, Gregor McGregor and Duncan McAuley. Another branch of the Campbell clan, the Campbells of Glenlyon, paid the stipend of the minister of Clunie and Kirkmichael out of the teinds of Kilmorich, in the bishopric of Dunkeld.¹⁸⁸ William Haitlie, the minister at Abernyte in 1567, was installed following his nomination by a group of seven gentlemen, headed by Crichton of Sanquhar. David, 5th Lord Drummond was another early patron of reformed church clergy, though his association with the kirk was not always so apparent. He paid

186. Gillies, Breadalbane, 261-3; SRO Breadalbane Mun. GD 112/1/114.

187. SRO Breadalbane Mun. GD 112/2/3a/1 & 2, 18/6, 56/1.

188. Abstracts of entries relating to the Campbells in the Books of Council and Session and Register of Deeds, 1554-1660, ed. H. Paton (Edinburgh, 1918), ii, 41 [hereafter Clan Campbell].

pensions to William Drummond (Cargill), John Hume (Madderty), Patrick Murray (Tibbermore) and John Burdon (Killin).¹⁸⁹ Erskine of Dun was patron to James Anderson, who dedicated his anti-papist poem, The Winter Night, to his patron. Dun was also patron to Andrew Elder, the reader of Menmuir, who served as the family's notary for over fifty years.¹⁹⁰ Other clergymen with lay patrons included Alexander Drysdale, the reader at Alva and servant of David Erskine, commendator of Inchmahome, and Thomas Shewan, the reader at Fern, whose salary was augmented by Lady Lindsay, the wife of the Earl of Crawford.¹⁹¹ In 1573 George Douglas received the parsonages of Auchterhouse and Meigle in part compensation for the loss of the revenues of Arbroath abbey and in the following year gave Alexander Tyrie, the minister of Auchterhouse, a gift of £50.¹⁹²

Some of the religious houses contributed financially to the kirk. In 1566-7 all the canons of St. Andrews were given pensions, dependent upon whether they were ministers or readers. Pensions were also given to the ministers of churches appropriated to the priory, who were not members of the community.¹⁹³ At Strathfillan, in Glendochart, the reader John McCorcadill, was also prior of the small Augustinian house, however the income he derived from the monastery was not considerable. In 1581 James Anderson, a monk of Coupar Angus, entered into a contract with Leonard Leslie, the

189. RMS, iii, no. 2531; RSS, ii, no. 4384; Inchaffray Chrs, 164.

190. Anderson, J., The Winter Night (Glasgow, 1713); RMS, iv, no. 1254; SRO Erskine of Dun GD 123/75.

191. RMS, v, no. 752; Jervise, A., The History and Traditions of the Lords of the Lindsays in Angus and Mearns (Edinburgh, 1853), 221.

192. RSS, vii, no. 1678; NLS MSS 17.1.4 fo. 33v.

193. NLS Adv MSS 17.1.3 fo. 138ff, 202v.

commendator, binding him to pay Anderson's portion up until that year; a sum of £78 13s 4d.¹⁹⁴ Elsewhere some ministers, such as Thomas Cruikshank at Lundeiff, had to pay their own readers.¹⁹⁵ James Nicholson, the minister and vicar of Meigle, paid the minister of Alyth from the fruits of his own parish.¹⁹⁶ In 1610 John Burne, the minister at Rosyth and Dalgety, was forced to employ and pay for an assistant, on account of his own failing health.¹⁹⁷

The amounts of Thirds paid to protestant clergy varied greatly from parish to parish, as well as throughout the period as a whole. There was great diversity amongst the sums paid to ministers. John Row, the minister at Forgandenny and Muckersie, received only £15, while Alexander Young, the minister at Tibbermore, a few miles across the Earn valley, was paid £136 in 'consideration of his great family and household'.¹⁹⁸ William Edmonstone's salary increased from £33 6s 8d in 1568 to £100 in 1571-2, which he supplemented from other sources. As chancellor of Dunkeld he held the prebend of Lethendy, as well as stipends from three parishes and the vicarage of Cargill. His income was large enough to support a household of six male and three female servants.¹⁹⁹ David Robertson, as well as ministering in the area around Dundee, was also a burgess of the city and in 1577 received a pension from the bishop of Caithness as 'he servit and servis at uther twa kirkis of

194. Acts and Decs., lxxxv, fo. 468r.

195. Reg. Min., 19; TB, 250; Wod. Misc., 354; Fraser, Grandtully, i, 105; RSS; RSS, vi, no. 2021.

196. RSS, viii, no. 1884; Scott, Fasti, v, 270, 279; Melville, Diary, 302.

197. Scott, Fasti, viii, 408.

198. TB, 252.

199. Watt, Fasti, 112; Reg. Min., 19.

ours'.²⁰⁰ In Edinburgh the situation was considerably better. The *burgh* council had to pay top rates to recruit the best clergy. Walter Balcanquhal, the former exhorter at Auchtertool, saw his salary of £100 as minister of St. Giles in 1574 double within three years. The situation was somewhat more difficult for the lower offices of exhorter and reader. There was less diversity in exhorters' stipends and £26 13s 6d was an almost standard salary. Readers generally received between £10 and £20, while unfortunate exceptions, such as John Thomson at Muckersie, struggled on considerably less. His salary of £6 13s 4d was one of the lowest within the diocese.²⁰¹ Despite the vocational nature of their employment the inability to secure a decent salary meant that some clergymen were tempted into leaving the ministry. In 1562 it was noted that 'some ministers had left their charges and entered into vocations more profitable for the belly'. John Shairp in Edinburgh 'left preaching and took him to the law'.²⁰² John Barton, dean of Dunkeld and a former reformed church minister, also joined the legal profession. His promotion to the College of Justice in 1584 was granted only on the proviso that other ministers did not seek similar appointments.²⁰³

The mismanagement of the 1560s resulted in quite widespread non-payment of all types of dues, despite the increased powers given to superintendents and bishops to ensure their collection. Charles

200. Roll of Eminent Dundee Burgesses, 1513-1886 (Dundee, 1887), 49.

201. TB, 254.

202. Knox, History, ii, 47.

203. Brunton and Haig, Senators, 177.

Murray, the collector in various parts of the diocese of Dunkeld, encountered numerous problems in trying to extract payment from a variety of debtors. Charges were brought against some of the most powerful nobles in Scotland: 'debt recovery otherwise known as the diligence process was a great leveller'.²⁰⁴ Continued adherence to catholicism and an unwillingness to pay for the reformed church clergy were just some of many motives for non-payment.²⁰⁵ Those catholics charged by Murray included; Andrew Abercrombie, a member of Robert Crichton's catholic faction; Stephen Culross alias Wilson, a messenger for the Scottish catholics; John Steill, the recusant parson of Dollar; Henry Balfour, the deposed catholic vicar of Dollar and the catholic laymen Atholl, Oliphant and Hay of Megginch.²⁰⁶ In 1562 the parishioners of Little Dunkeld and Caputh were put to the horn for non-payment of their third and responded by assaulting the officer sent to execute letters against them.²⁰⁷ In 1571 Robert Naismith, the laird of Invar, was put to the horn for the non-payment of teinds to Thomas McGibbon, while in the following year the parishioners of Dollar were charged to pay the third of the parsonage and vicarage to the minister James Paton, as it had not been paid since 1567.²⁰⁸ Between 1571 and 1573 the parishioners of Auchtertool were at the horn for non-payment of their share of the third of Dunkeld, along with the Earls of Atholl and Argyll. Alexander Reid, an officer of the Bishop of Dunkeld, was sent to

204. Sanderson, M.B.H., Mary Stewart's People (Edinburgh, 1987), 145.

205. SRO RH 11/1/2.

206. SRO RH 11/1/12 fos. 2v, 15, 19v, 24v; RSS, vi, nos. 492, 1441, 2240; TB, 100, 274.

207. TB, 73-4.

208. SRO RH 11/1/2 fos. 9, 15, 16; RSS, vi, no. 1253.

Easter Dalguise to poind tenants for the payment of their Whitsunday maills only to be turned away by John Ross, the Earl of Atholl's grieve. No religious motive can be attributed to this encounter as both the bishop and the earl were well-known catholics.²⁰⁹ In 1580 the tenants of Aberdalgie, influenced by the catholic Lord Oliphant, failed to pay their teinds to the Earl of Argyll, as did the parishioners of Kinclaven in 1585.²¹⁰

Many clergymen encountered such problems with non-payment of their dues and were forced to use other forms of legal action. In 1579 Walter Stewart of Dowally appealed to the privy council to enforce the collection of payments due to him from the altars of St. Ninian in Dunkeld, and St. Peter in Perth.²¹¹ In the following year James Sanderson, the reader at Alyth, instigated legal proceedings to retrieve the teinds of the lands of Leitifie.²¹² John Burne at Rosyth was supported by the Exchequer in his attempts to ensure the payment of his stipend by Agnes Leslie, Lady Lochleven, and in the following year Patrick Adamson, archbishop of St. Andrews, was at the horn for its non-payment.²¹³ Litigation was often a lengthy procedure and David Lindsay of Edzell and the minister of Fern spent three years, from 1583 to 1586, resolving their dispute over the teinds.²¹⁴

A further area of dispute were the glebe and the manse.

209. SRO CH 8/22.

210. Clan Campbell, ii, 41.

211. Milne, R., ed. The Rental Books of King James VI Hospital (Perth, 1891), 486.

212. RSS, vi, no. 1867,

213. Exchequer Rolls, xxi, 583.

214. NRA Southesk Chrs., 2, misc.

Although set aside for the minister they were often linked with the benefice, so that he had no legal claim to the possession. In 1563 it was laid down that^a minister must be given possession of the manse and glebe or another building and land be provided.²¹⁵ Problems were encountered by those clergymen who, anticipating the Reformation, had feued their manses and lands, with the aim of repossessing them at a later date. In 1574 an act of caution was issued to try and remove Robert Scott from the manse at Strathmiglo, while less legal means were used by Lord Oliphant to remove William Melrose from his at Findogask.²¹⁶ Oliphant was ordered by the Privy Council to pay for the repair of the burnt-out manse, and in September 1573 superintendent Winram was instructed to ensure that Melrose received the sasine of the manse and the glebe.²¹⁷ Similar problems were encountered by George Lundie, the minister of Dalmeny and Cramond, who in 1586 was 'cruellie and unmercifullie persewitt' by the brother of the laird of Craighall in his attempt to gain possession of his manse.²¹⁸ James Sanderson, already mentioned for his attempts to ensure payment of teinds, also had to fight a protracted battle over the manse and glebe of Alyth. His legal wrangle with Sir David Henry, the vicar-pensioner of Alyth, lasted from 1573 until 1588.²¹⁹ In 1586 Alexander Norie, the minister at Fern, was forced to appeal to David Lindsay of Edzell to intervene when Erskine of Dun authorised James Fullerton, the

215. APS, ii, 539.

216. Acts and Decs., liii, fo. 376.

217. RPC, xiv, 109-110; SRO CH8/30.

218. RPC, iv, 132.

219. Acts and Decs., lvii, fo. 441r.

neighbouring minister, to assign Norie a glebe of only 2 acres. Norie requested of Edzell that he be given his allotted glebe of 4 acres.²²⁰ Disputes over the manse and glebe were not always resolved to the detriment of the clergyman. In 1586 there were three claimants to the vicarage of Dollar, despite the fact that the reader had held the benefice since 1573. He successfully countered the claims of the other claimants, one of whom claimed the reader had demitted in his favour and another who asserted that his claim predated that of the reader's. In 1586, and again in 1589, the reader, Robert Burn, was deprived, however his deprivation caused problems as he had shared the occupation of the manse and glebe and his lease thereof had been granted in liferent.²²¹

Although the re-organisation of the financial administration in 1573-4 had brought an end to the apparent stagnation of the reformed ministry it was many years before every protestant clergyman was guaranteed a proper living. By 1606 a workable system of stipends had been developed, but despite James VI's desire to ensure adequate salaries, these early developments were just the first stages in a long struggle, which culminated in Charles I's Act of Revocation and adjustment of the teinds.

(d) John Winram and the Supervision of the Reformed Church

Discipline within the pre-Reformation church was administered by a variety of provincial councils, diocesan synods and bishops and

220. J.R.L. Crawford MSS 4.2.120.

221. Dunblane Visit., 19-21.

archdeacons' courts. The jurisdiction of some of these courts would seem to have been fairly limited in Dunkeld as parts of the populace appear to have acted with little regard for the law. It was claimed that the commissary-general in the fifteenth century was the 'first man who effectively punished the excesses and crimes of the highland folk'.²²² With the growth in population the diocese was divided into four deaneries, the deans of which were responsible for monitoring the clergy as well as the laity. Great emphasis was placed on the selection of suitable candidates and only those with the 'necessary qualities and proper learning' were chosen.²²³ Those selected included Walter Brown, who possessed 'a remarkable knowledge of canon law and a strong sense of justice'.²²⁴ The dean of Athole achieved considerable success in 'routing out abominable sins in Athole and Drumalban'.²²⁵ Alexander Myln, in his Lives of the Bishops, would have one believe that the early sixteenth century saw a crackdown on the indiscipline within the diocese and although this may have been true of the laity, the clergy were sometimes less easy to control. The bishop's authority to control clerical abuses, such as reservation and concubinage, was continually being undermined by dispensations from Rome.

The Reformation abolished all jurisdiction formerly dependent upon papal authority and left unclear the duties of the officials in each diocese. During the immediate post-Reformation period consistorial cases and matters previously dealt with by

222. Myln, Vitae, 60-1.

223. Dunk. Rent., 304.

224. Myln, Vitae, 64.

225. Ibid, 67.

ecclesiastical tribunals were covered by the Court of Session. The new kirk sessions also constituted themselves as consistorial courts. After 1563 commissary courts were established for Edinburgh and each diocese, with jurisdiction in matters of marriage, divorce, legitimacy, status and moveable succession.

Contained within the First Book of Discipline were guidelines for a more efficient administration, including boundary changes and the institution of superintendents and commissioners. A recent assessment of the office of superintendent has described it as a 'reformed episcopate ... directed to rule in conciliar manner'.²²⁶ Commissioners were first adopted by the General Assembly in 1563 and were endowed with the same ecclesiastical powers as superintendents, but with lower stipends. The earliest organisations of this new administration were the kirk sessions and the General Assembly, which appeared at the time of the Reformation and were followed by the synod and provincial assemblies in 1562. Great emphasis was placed on the eldership as 'necessar and requirement for erecting of a perfect reformed kirk' and elders sat on kirk sessions and superintendents' courts and were responsible for the monitoring of ministers' performance.²²⁷ The kirk session was the 'fundamental unit of ecclesiastical administration in Scotland during the Reformation period' and discipline was in fact the most enduring feature of the Reformation, surviving throughout the seventeenth

226. Mullan, D.G., Episcopacy in Scotland: the History of an Idea 1560-1638 (Edinburgh 1986), 22, 24; also see Kirk, J., Patterns of Reform, Chapter 5, 'The Superintendent: Myth and Reality', 154-231.

227. FBD, 174-9.

century.²²⁸ The kirk session court was able to solve the majority of cases brought before it and proved more efficient than both presbyteries and synods. Greater success was achieved in both the summoning of offenders and the enforcement of sentences, the most common being fines. Central to its success was the effective overlapping of civil and ecclesiastical authority. There are unfortunately no extant records for Dunkeld during the immediate post-Reformation years and one can only assume that the kirk sessions there were as effective as elsewhere, once the influence of Robert Crichton had been removed.

Until the erection of presbyteries in the 1580s this new system of oversight was rather haphazard, especially around Dunkeld itself. The influence of the superintendent, John Winram, was restricted to Fife, as within Perthshire he received little support from Robert Crichton or his protestant successor, James Paton. In 1578 the Second Book of Discipline proposed a new basic unit of administration, the presbytery, based on Andrew Melville's Presbyterian Discipline of Geneva. The plan was to group 600 parishes into fifty presbyteries and in 1581 it was hoped that the initial thirteen would be quickly followed by the remaining thirty-seven. By 1606 however there were only just over the original fifty, the progress of the kirk having been delayed by James VI's desire to re-establish episcopacy. The subsequent forty years was, however, a period of dramatic growth and consolidation.²²⁹

228. Foster, W.R., the Church before the Covenants (Edinburgh, 1975), 71.

229. Kirk, J. (ed.), The Second Book of Discipline (Edinburgh, 1980), 51-7, 106-114 [hereafter SBD].

The presbytery of Dunkeld was founded sometime between the General Assemblies of 17 October 1581 and 25 April 1582. The former appointed commissioners for the formation of various presbyteries and although Dunkeld was not mentioned specifically it was one of those set up by the commissioners, who in 1582 reported that they had 'erected as was committed to them'.²³⁰ Duncan McAuley, minister at Inchaiden, was appointed as visitor and commissioner for the examination of churches within Dunkeld presbytery.²³¹ Following the act of 1584 Dunkeld shared the fate of other presbyteries and was abolished, only to be re-erected in 1586 following an improvement in relations between the kirk and the crown.²³² In that year Peter Rollok, bishop of Dunkeld, drew up a list of parishes, which after the consideration of objections, was adjusted by the Lord Clerk Register.²³³ The new presbytery consisted of thirty parishes, covering all of highland Perthshire and those lowland parishes to the east of Dunkeld.²³⁴ The other parishes within the diocese were incorporated into the presbyteries of Angus and Mearns, Perth, Dunblane, Stirling, Fife, Lothian, Edinburgh and Haddington; further proof of the disjointedness of the old diocesan structure. In 1588 the final part of the re-organisation was completed with the incorporation of Dunkeld, Perth and Dunblane into one synod. The formation of the presbytery was by no means rigid and over the next fifty years Alyth, Bendochy, Blairgowrie, Glenisla, Rattray and

230. Calderwood, History, iii, 587, 598.

231. BUK, ii, 470, 473.

232. Calderwood, History, iv, 259, 268.

233. Hunter, Dunkeld, i, 386-390.

234. BUK, ii, 675-6.

Ruthven were transferred to Meigle, and Madderty, Kinclaven, Auchtergaven and Logiebride to Perth. Despite these transfers the presbytery still proved to be too large an administrative unit and around 1650 it was split into two, with seats at Logierait and Kinclaven, which had been returned to Dunkeld.²³⁵

The senior courts consisted of the synod and the provincial and General Assemblies. The synod continued to be organised along diocesan lines and served as a court of appeal from the presbyteries, examining the presbyteries themselves and disciplining ministers. The provincial assembly consisted of bishops and sometimes ministers and was convened to consider major disciplinary and administrative matters. The General Assembly, which represented the three estates of the realm, was very active in pursuing offenders of all ranks, including Bishop Paton and John Stewart, earl of Atholl. In the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries its activities were curtailed. In the period between 1560 and 1596 there were sixty-four assemblies compared with twelve between 1597 and 1638; the decrease being a result of James's use of his prerogative and the revival of episcopacy.

The man entrusted with the implementation of the new post-Reformation judicial system was John Winram, the former sub-prior of St. Andrews. His conversion was at first regarded as a great 'coup' for the kirk but his uncertainty and lack of conviction were soon apparent in his handling of the office of superintendent of Fife and Strathearn.

235. Hunter, Dunkeld, i, 388-9.

John Winram of Kirkness or Ratho was born in 1492. In 1513 he entered St. Leonards College, St. Andrews, and graduated as bachelor of arts two years later.²³⁶ His links with the university continued after his graduation and in 1540 he became a doctor of theology and in 1550 was elected deputy rector.²³⁷ During his early career he enjoyed the patronage of David Beaton, archbishop of St. Andrews.²³⁸ After the Reformation, in 1574, he was involved in the reform of the university.²³⁹ His early ecclesiastical career began sometime before 1528 when he became an inmate of the Augustinian priory of St. Andrews. In 1534 he was a third prior and in 1536 was sub-prior.²⁴⁰ In conjunction with the office of sub-prior he also held the vicarage of Dull, in Strathtay.²⁴¹ In 1546 he was appointed co-vicar-general, as the prior, Lord James Stewart, was still under age.²⁴² In 1558 he acted as commissary to Stewart while he was in France.²⁴³ A letter written in 1567 from the prior to Winram shows a close working relationship between the two and in 1570 Winram served as administrator of St. Andrews after the prior's murder.²⁴⁴ Winram was also a canon, and later prior of the Augustinian house of Portmoak or Lochleven, which was a dependent of the house in

236. St.A.Recs., 104, 211.

237. Ibid., 253; St.A.Rent., 107.

238. Ibid., 107.

239. Cant, R.G., University of St. Andrews, 49.

240. SRO RH 6/1117.

241. NLS Adv. MSS 17.1.3 fos. 193, 372; RMS, iv, no. 1730.

242. ADCP, 565; RSS, iii, no. 2513; SRO B 65/22 no. 299; SRO RH6/1435.

243. NLS Adv. MSS 17.1.3 fo. 267v ff; NLS Chrs., no. 6113; SRO GD 147/17/1.

244. HMC Moray, 642-3; NLS Adv. MSS 17.1.3 fo. 299r-v, 360r-v, 387.

St. Andrews.²⁴⁵

Winram was involved in four of the pre-Reformation heresy trials: John Borthwick (1540), George Wishart (1546), Adam Wallace (1550) and Walter Myln (1558).²⁴⁶ At the most famous of these, the trial of George Wishart, he played a prominent role, preaching the sermon and hearing the condemned man's last confession. His sermon was an orthodox discussion of the 'definition and remedies of heresy'.²⁴⁷ His attitude towards Wishart showed a certain amount of tolerance and openmindedness, rather than any overt interest in protestantism. He later developed a similar relationship with Knox, who he first heard preaching at St. Andrews in 1547. He later chaired various disputations between Knox and representatives of the catholic church, including Dean Annan and Friar Arbuckle.²⁴⁸ His tolerance can be attributed to his humanist studies and his awareness of the need for reform. In 1549 he was present at the provincial council in Edinburgh, at which resolutions were passed for the reform of the clergy.²⁴⁹ In 1550 he was one of the visitors of St. Leonards and was responsible for regulations concerning the accoutrements of the catholic faith, which it was thought indicated his desire 'to relinquish the most useless observances of the church

245. SRO E 14/2 fo. 62, 87v; SRO E 48/1/1 fo. 68v; NLS Adv. MSS 17.1.3 fos. 165, 191; RMS, iv, no. 2934, Assump., 68v; TB, 242; St.A.Chrs., no. 323; Laing Chrs., no., 801; CSP Scot., i, 879.

246. Fleming, D.H., The Reformation in Scotland (London, 1910), 219n; Calderwood, History, i, 263.

247. Pitscottie, Historie, 294; Knox, Works, i, 150-1; Spottiswoode, History, i, 159.

248. Collections upon the Lives of the Reformers and Most Eminent Ministers of the Church of Scotland, ed. Wodrow, R. (Maitland Club, 1834), 121.

249. Statutes of the Scottish Church, ed. Patrick, D. (SHS, 1907), 86 [hereafter Patrick, Statutes].

of Rome'.²⁵⁰ He was also thought, probably erroneously, to have been involved in the compilation of Hamilton's Catechism, which was approved by the provincial council in 1552.²⁵¹ The catechism gave a concise explanation of the Ten Commandments, the Creed, the Seven Sacraments and the Pater Noster and Ave Maria. His involvement in its writing may have been assumed due to the catechism's attempts to accommodate Lutheran ideas. The mistake in the authorship of the catechism arises from its orthodoxy, which drew on the Enchiridion Christianae Institutionis of John Gropper, the chancellor of Cologne cathedral.²⁵² In 1554 Winram was involved in the visitation of Pittenweem, which again highlighted the decadence of the Augustinians in Scotland.²⁵³

Despite attending the provincial council of 1559, Winram joined the reformers soon after. He was a member of the first General Assembly in 1560 and was one of those considered 'prepared for ministering and teaching'. In the same year he was elected superintendent of Fife and was admitted to office in April 1561.²⁵⁴ His appointment as superintendent endowed him with a considerable amount of power in an area which contained strong kirk sessions and well-qualified ministers. Superintendents had in fact not been part of the reformers' original plan, but were an afterthought, which was incorporated into the First Book of Discipline. The idea had been to appoint ten or twelve 'godly and learned men', however, only five

250. St.A.Recs., 253.

251. McRoberts, Scottish Reformation, 327; Maitland Misc, i, 319.

252. McRoberts, Scottish Reformation, 253, 302.

253. Ibid., 225.

254. St.AKSR, i, 72-5.

were appointed, supported by a number of commissioners and the three reformed bishops. Winram was himself involved in the amending of the First Book of Discipline, along with Spottiswoode, Willock, Douglas, Row and Knox, and in 1574 in the drafting of the Second.²⁵⁵

Although involved in reform and the compilation of the Books of Discipline Winram was himself over-immersed in worldly affairs. His pluralism and nepotism, although not uncommon by the standards of the day, made him very unpopular. The reader of Kinross, Alexander Wardlaw, described him as that 'fals, dissentful, gredy, disemblit smayk, for he was one of tham that maist oppressed, smoted and held down the word of God'.²⁵⁶ Winram held many lucrative posts, being sub-prior of St. Andrews, prior of Portmoak, parson of Kirkness and superintendent of Fife, Strathearn and Menteith.²⁵⁷ He was also a Lord of Articles, but in political circles retained the label 'sub-prior'.²⁵⁸ Despite the revenues from these various offices Winram had by 1576 fallen into debt and was forced to ask Douglas of Lochleven to pay the dues of Kirkness, as he had 'growne greitlie in uther men[is] dett'.²⁵⁹ This over-spending stemmed partly from his generosity towards his many relatives.²⁶⁰

During the 1560s Winram, like the other superintendents, was continually being admonished by the General Assembly. Accountability of the rulers as well as the ruled was important in the reformers'

255. SBD, 45-51.

256. St.AKSR, i, 89; SRO Morton Mun. GD 150/2190.

257. SRO E 14/2 fo. 62, 87v, E 48/1/1 fo. 68v; NLS Adv. MSS 17.1.3 fo. 165, 191; RMS, iv, no. 2934; St.AKSR, i, 72-5.

258. APS, ii, 525, 608; CSP Scot., i, 879.

259. SRO Morton Papers GD 150/3439/8.

260. NLS Adv. MSS 17.1.3 fo. 115, 195v, 370v; SRO E 14/2 fo. 87, 62.

concept of discipline. The superintendent was seen as 'a pastor of pastors yet subject to these same pastors'.²⁶¹ At numerous assemblies between 1561 and 1567 he was accused of slackness in the performance of his duties. In December 1563 he was removed from office as he 'had not preached in his visitation, but caused the minister of the kirk to occupie the rowne'.²⁶² The following year he was again accused of slackness in carrying out the visitation and gave as his excuses, old age, the non-payment of his stipend and the size of his charge.²⁶³ In 1566 he tried unsuccessfully to resign from office, bemoaning 'his own inability to discharge the office [and] ... he desired the assembly to denude him of it'.²⁶⁴ However he continued in office, as did the accusations of negligence. In March 1571 he was to 'concurre with the said Archbishop (St. Andrews) quhen he requyres him in his visitation or utherwayes within his boundis'.²⁶⁵ Winram had not visited Strathearn, Menteith or Breadalbane for over a year and even Crail, in Fife, had not seen him for three. Thereafter he attended only one more session meeting, his place being taken by Archbishop Douglas. In the same year he again tried to resign, but instead was ordained 'to use his awin jurisdiction as of befoir in the provinces not yet subject to the Archbishoprik of St. Andrews'.²⁶⁶ He was ordered to concentrate on the diocese of Dunkeld and in August 1571 the General Assembly

261. Kirk, J., 'The Polities of the Best Reformed Kirks', SHR, lix (1980), 29, 30, 34.

262. BUK, i, 39.

263. Ibid., i, 53.

264. Ibid., i, 77.

265. Ibid., i, 242.

266. Ibid., i, 239, 242.

completely excluded him from St. Andrews, declaring that the diocese pertained to the 'bishop of St. Andrews and to no other superintendent to visite and plant kirks'.²⁶⁷ The diocese was, however, too large for Douglas to cope with alone, so he 'desired some of the godliest and best learned to concur with him in taking order now the whole diocese may be served'.²⁶⁸ Winram was not one of those named, but continued to hold the office of superintendent of Fife. In 1572 he attended the Leith Convention, which instituted the system of tulchan bishops. Following the convention he was appointed archdeacon of St. Andrews and on resigning as superintendent of Fife was made superintendent of Strathearn.²⁶⁹ In 1574 he was given a commission 'exceeding the bounds appertaining to the Bishop of Dunkeld'.²⁷⁰ The death of Archbishop Douglas in the same year led to his restoration to Fife. His position was by no means secure, as Patrick Adamson, the new archbishop, was referred to as 'my lord of Sanctandrois, Bishop and superintendent' though in 1576 Bondronne, presumably Winram, was again referred to as superintendent.²⁷¹

Winram was by now an old man and incapable of fulfilling his duties. In his old age he had become a problem for the kirk and although useful prior to the Reformation had become a liability thereafter. As the effective superior of St. Andrews he had held the key catholic position within St. Andrews and in effect within Scotland. Although a superintendent, one of the highest offices

267. Ibid., i, 243.

268. Ibid., i, 243-4.

269. Ibid., i, 239, 242.

270. Ibid., i, 318.

271. Ibid., ii, 362, 433.

of the kirk, he was never moderator of any of the thirty-six assemblies which he attended. In the early 1570s a 'modus vivendi' had to be found between the superintendents and the tulchan bishops and Winram proved to be the scapegoat. The ambiguity of his position was easily rationalised by those who, like Erskine of Dun, understood 'a bishop and a superintendent to be but ane office', since many of their functions were the same.²⁷² Although a sub-prior rather than a bishop this was the sort of equation which had been made at the time of his appointment in 1561, and which proved to be a very costly miscalculation.

The origins of this miscalculation are easy to trace as Winram has always proved to be a most difficult man to assess. John Johnston in his series of Latin poems on the Scottish reformers states:

'Winram, 'tis hard, I must confess to find
what rank and class to thee should be assigned'²⁷³

His motivation is unclear, but on an intellectual level his conversion appears to have been genuine. He was a conservative, who arrived at protestantism via Erasmian humanism, while at the same time he was enough of a realist to take advantage of the system which allowed him to accumulate considerable personal wealth. He has been described as 'a man of intriguing turn, and was probably admitted to the confidence of both parties. It is not understood that he made any strenuous efforts in support of the protestant doctrine, but

272. FBD, 115-121, 176-7; SBD, 74-84; Donaldson, Scottish Reformation, 102-129; St.AKSR, i, 74-5; Calderwood, History, iii, 160.

273. NLS Adv. MSS 19.3.24.

he was allowed to retain some of the most lucrative appointments in the church, along with the honour and dignity of superintendent'.²⁷⁴ McRoberts likens him to Hermann von Wied, archbishop of Cologne, described by Charles V as 'neither a protestant nor a catholic, but a proper heathen'.²⁷⁵ McCrie, however, described him as 'a man of mild disposition', who realised that legal tolerance was less dangerous than total suppression, especially when dealing with Queen Mary and her continued use of the mass.²⁷⁶ What is indisputable is that he was 'a man of singular erudition and understanding in the scriptures and word of God'.²⁷⁷ Spottiswoode thought of him as a 'man of good learning and one who secretly favoured the truth'.²⁷⁸ He seems to have more openly favoured the truth in August 1560 when he declared that Protestantism was the 'faith in which they all ought to live and die'.²⁷⁹ Even the catholic scholar Quentin Kennedy described him as 'wonderfullie learnit baith in the New Testament, Auld Testament, and mekle mair'.²⁸⁰ He died in 1582, aged ninety, and on his death was described as 'ane honorable and worschipfull man'.²⁸¹ He was ironically remembered on his tombstone as 'Episcopus Fifanorum', bishop of the people of Fife.²⁸²

The Reformation caused a certain amount of confusion within the ecclesiastical judiciary, reflected by the initial lack of success

274. Lee, Lectures, i, 340-3.

275. McRoberts, D., The Medieval Church of St. Andrews (Glasgow 1976), 117.

276. Percy, E., John Knox (London, 1937), 373.

277. St. AKSR, i, 26.

278. Scott, Lives of the Reformers, 37.

279. CSP Foreign Elizabeth, 1560-1, no. 434.

280. Knox, Works, vi, 167.

281. Wodrow, Collections, i, 463, 468.

282. Fleming, D.H., Reformation in Scotland, 613, 633n.

experienced by the reformed church courts in Dunkeld. During the early years of the Reformation there is little sign of much activity against wayward clergy, a result of the lack of machinery of justice as well as a reluctance to discourage the small number of hard-pressed clergymen. It is not until the 1580s that the kirk was able to deal more efficiently with offenders. Much of the evidence relates to parishes transferred to presbyteries outwith Dunkeld and evidence for those parishes within Dunkeld is not very forthcoming. The level of prosecution gives little indication of the level of abuse, especially in those remoter areas outwith the influence of the superintendent, which, in the case of John Winram, included most of Dunkeld.

The most common offences for which parish clergy were prosecuted were non-residence, lack of qualifications, abuse of the sacraments of baptism and marriage and recusancy. Instances of the latter were most common around Dunkeld and prosecution of recusants seems to have been carried out with little regard for other offences.

Non-residence was the natural consequence of the kirk's policy of appointing clergymen to two or more charges. It was also the result of appointing pre-Reformation beneficed clergymen, who prior to 1560 were usually non-resident and who, after 1560, slipped back into their old habits. John Barton, dean of Dunkeld, was minister of six parishes in 1574 and in the following year was accused of non-residence. There can have been little doubt about the charge as Barton was already fully occupied with his duties within the chapter. The kirk was also keen to restrict Barton's activities to Dunkeld, as throughout his tenure of office he continued to celebrate the

mass.²⁸³ Another papist, Michael Greg, the reader at Dunkeld, was deprived for non-residence, but as was often the case he was re-appointed soon after.²⁸⁴ A more interesting case was that of James Blackwood, who in 1577 'bruikit twa benefices, viz. the personage of Sanquhair and the vicarage of Saline, yet served not at ane of the kirks'. The General Assembly tried to force him to resign one of the charges and Blackwood declared he would rather serve Saline, because 'for fear of his life he dar not resort to Sanchar to discharge his cure there'. Later in the year he was deprived of Saline but by 1584 either he, or his son, was again in possession of both charges.²⁸⁵

The most common complaint against those deemed to be unqualified was their 'lack of knowledge in the grounds of religion'. This criticism was levelled against graduates and non-graduates alike. For various reasons, but usually the lack of suitable replacements, little could be done against the offenders and few of those found guilty were removed from office. In 1574 John Burdoun at Killin was 'decernit unqualified to use and exerce ye office of ane minister', but continued ministering until 1590.²⁸⁶ Likewise Patrick Laing, the former minister at Moneydie, continued at Tulliallan, in Dunblane, until 1597 despite being unable 'to instruct others in God's word, nor to refute the errors of the adversary'.²⁸⁷ Robert Menteith, the minister at Dollar and Alva, as well as being

283. Barton was still referred to as a papist in 1584, shortly before being appointed to the College of Justice.

284. BUK, i, 283.

285. Ibid., ii, 386-7.

286. RSS, li, fo. 137; Assig. 1590, fo. 33v.

287. Stirling Presb. Recs., 100, 164, 218.

unqualified, was also 'langsam in cumming to the kirk upon Sunday', despite three years earlier having been found of 'good report' by the visitation.²⁸⁸ Robert Burne, the reader at Dollar, was not only illiterate, but also 'a maintainer of harlots ... and a drunkard'. Despite blaming old age for the first charge and denying the other two he was removed from office in 1586, but was re-appointed prior to 1590.²⁸⁹

Abuse of the sacrament of baptism was common due to the confusion surrounding the changing duties of the reader and the disregard shown by some clergymen for the guidelines set out in the First Book of Discipline. John Hommill, minister at Strathardle in 1562 and later of various parishes in Strathearn, was twice accused of baptising illegitimate children.²⁹⁰ Abuse of the sacrament of baptism was only one of the charges levelled against Alexander Fergy of Lecropt, the others being lack of knowledge and discipline, and non-attendance of presbytery meetings. Fergy followed an exemplary career until illness and old age affected his performance. Prior to 1589 he had been a respected and regular member of Stirling presbytery and had been responsible for the excommunication of Sir John Henderson, an obstinate papist and 'charmer of cattle'.²⁹¹ The parish of Lecropt, presumably on account of its small income, failed to attract the quality of clergymen required to serve in the church there. John Kemp, the alleged reader, abused not only the sacrament

289. Dunblane Visit., 19-21, 29, 91; Scott, Fasti, iv, 305; viii, 38.

290. Stirling Presb. Recs., 160; Scott, Fasti, iv, 268.

291. Dunblane Visit., 14, 38, 56.

of baptism, but that also of marriage.²⁹² This second charge, which was less common, took various forms. In 1577 James Blackwood, the minister of Saline and Sanquhar was deprived for marrying Robert Pitcairn, commendator of Dunfermline and Eupheme Murray, widow of Robert Stewart of Rosyth, 'without testimoniall of the ministry of the parish where they made residence'.²⁹³ In 1581 Alexander Muir of Strathmiglo was accused of marrying a couple accused of adultery. There was also dispute as to whether the minister was disguised, however the laird of Tulliallan attested that 'he was honestlie claid in blak as becummis ane minister'.²⁹⁴ In 1587 William Thalland of Auchtertool was accused of marrying Kirkcaldy of Grange and a daughter of Lyon of Glamis without proclamation and in another minister's bounds. Following the marriage, and his subsequent dismissal, Thalland became Kirkcaldy's factor.²⁹⁵

In the twenty years following the Reformation there was considerable recusant activity within the diocese, even amongst those clergy who served within the kirk. Examples can also be found from amongst the old catholic clergy, who included William Cranston, the vicar of Tibbermore. Cranston was one of the masters of St. Salvator's, who at the Reformation 'adhered to the ancient religion and left their places'. He departed, only after preaching in defence of orthodox eucharist doctrine and collecting together a large part of the muniments of St. Andrews University. Cranston

292. Stirling Presb. Recs., 107, 130-2.

293. BUK, ii, 386-7.

294. Stirling Presb. Recs., 196-7; BUK, ii, 524, 695.

295. RMS., v, no. 1877; Scott, Fasti, v, 78.

had been a rector of Paris University and was a disciple of Rudolf Agricola and an acquaintance of Ignatius Loyola. In 1553 he had reputedly disputed successfully against Calvin. At the time of his death in 1562 Randolph noted that Cranston, that 'great favourer of Papystes is hapelie ded in thys myschevous world'.²⁹⁶ Another non-serving cleric, Henry Balfour, the vicar of Dollar, was demitted in 1573 for failing to subscribe the articles of religion. He was reinstated at a later date and appears again as vicar in 1586.²⁹⁷ In some cases recusant activity would occur over a long period. John Steill was vicar of Dollar and Auchtertool from 1551 and for over fifty years was a problem for the church authorities. During the 1540s and 1550s he was under repeated threat of excommunication at the instance of Sir James Tyrie of Melginche and as late as 1590 was included in a list of recusants.²⁹⁸

Many of those reformed clergy who were involved in recusant activity were connected with the cathedral chapter. 'Dene' George Crichton, the reader of Forgandenny and a former Blackfriar, was one of those who assisted Robert Crichton at celebrations of the mass, and along with Robert Boyd, Bishop Crichton's servant, was responsible for the catholic 'geir' of Perth held for safe-keeping at Clunie.²⁹⁹ Alexander Crichton, a former archdeacon of Dunkeld and minister at Lundeiff and/or reader at Moneydie and Logiebride, was prosecuted for saying the mass in 1567 and again in 1572. He was

296. St.AKSR, i, 169-70.

297. Dunblane Visit., 20.

298. PB Rollok, no. 68; Assump 73v, 74; Inchcolm Chrs., 216-7; SRO Shairp of Houston Papers GD 30/18/nos. 1953-1963; RPC, iv, 521.

299. Dunk. Rent., 356.

later described as 'ane of the excommunicat persons gevin up be the brethren'.³⁰⁰ In 1573 John Drummond, the reader at Abernyte and Michael Greg, the reader at Dunkeld and Lagganallochie, 'who be thair convention and troubles have raised a greater slander against them and thair offices', were tried for 'allegdnce touching the smelling of papistry'.³⁰¹ Greg was also temporarily deprived for non-residence. Another reader of Dunkeld, Walter Robertson, was also suspected of papistry, having performed a catholic funeral.³⁰² Not all the cases of recusancy were connected with the chapter or were as obvious as some of those narrated. Unconnected cases include that of John Black, a former priest and exhorter at Preston and Bunkle. In 1569 he was called before the Privy Council, however Black had been 'oftymes callit and nocht comperand'.³⁰³ There is no indication that his doctrines were unacceptable to the council, however he may perhaps have been demoted and transferred to Currie. In some instances the motives for prosecution are not at all clear. Alexander Stevin, a monk of Dunfermline, was suspended from the readership of Beath in 1579 and vigorously pursued by the kirk. He was apparently tried for a matter concerning the incorrect execution of some documents relating to the abbey. Stevin claimed the case was civil and not ecclesiastical, and was subsequently acquitted. In 1580 he was brought before the Privy Council on a similar charge and in the following year was accused of usurpation of the ministry. The dispute continued throughout the 1580s without any conclusion

300. BUK, ii, 802.

301. Ibid., i, 283.

302. Ibid., i, 287.

303. RPC, ii, 40-1.

being reached. The reasons for his dismissal are in fact a mystery: continued catholicism may offer a more plausible explanation.³⁰⁴ Beath was in fact very poorly provided for over eighty years after the Reformation: 'the poor parishioners being lyke wandering sheep without a shepherd ... Sathane had a most faire name amongst them'.³⁰⁵ The curate of Fortingall, probably a McGregor of Glenstrae, also seems to have adhered to the old faith. He was the author of the later section of the Chronicle of Fortingall and was probably Duncan or Dougal McGregor, the son of the dean of Lismore. A great deal of confusion exists over his exact identity as the name and variations thereof were very common in the area. The author of the chronicle reveals a certain catholic bias in asking that the readers pray for the soul of a John Dougalson, as he had spurned the law of the heretics. He also refers to another parishioner who remained 'firmus in fide chatolica'.³⁰⁶ In 1574 he appears to use the alias Clerych and was reader of Killin, and perhaps Fortingall. In 1590 a Duncan McGregor, alias Glerorche, of Killin appears on the earlier-mentioned list of recusants.³⁰⁷ On the same list appears James Blackwood of Saline, who along with his father was a constant source of irritation to the kirk.³⁰⁸ Other less identifiable recusant clergy included Robert Paterson in Logierait and John Pillor in Foss. Aside from their prosecution in 1563 nothing is known

304. SRO E 47/2 1579 fo. 37; 1580 fo. 39; BUK, ii, 465; SRO E 14/2 fo. 182; RPC, iii, 399, 642; Yester Writs, no. 863.

305. Scott, Fasti, v, 5.

306. Taymouth Bk, 132-3.

307. RPC, iv, 521.

308. Ibid, iv, 521; RSS, viii, no. 2661; BUK, ii, 386-7.

about either man.³⁰⁹

Outwith the cathedral clergy the number of non-conformist clergy was relatively small. Less than 5% were involved in catholic activity and of these few seem to have been persistent offenders. Those parish clergy who were prosecuted were in many cases former or current members of the cathedral chapter. Otherwise examples were isolated as no pattern is apparent. The trend of long-term post-Reformation service indicates little desire to return to the catholic church and lapses were often the result of misunderstanding of protestant doctrine rather than any overt espousment of catholic beliefs.

Aside from the four main offences discussed, a variety of other charges were levelled against Dunkeld clergy, including wastage of patrimony, arson, treason and murder. Analysis of recorded prosecutions seems to indicate that in many cases it was the older clergy who were being pursued. These records are mainly from the 1570s and 1580s and relate to Fife and Dunblane with little evidence being available for Perthshire.

The study of the various aspects of the Reformation demonstrates that in many respects Dunkeld was no different from many other dioceses. The church there was troubled by the universal problems of spiritual and material degeneration and its response to the changes brought about by the Reformation was not markedly different from other areas. Problems were created by the diverse

309. BUK, i, 40.

locations of its parishes, which in many cases responded in a manner common to that area rather than to Dunkeld. By 1560 it is difficult to think of the diocese as a single administrative unit and the reorganisation of the parishes into presbyteries during the 1580s demonstrates the unwieldiness of the pre-Reformation structure. The slow development of the kirk within Dunkeld was not uncharacteristic of a rural diocese, in which it has been accepted that consolidation took longer than in the burghs.³¹⁰ Over-emphasis has perhaps been placed on the conservative influence of Robert Crichton, whose authority will be shown to have extended little beyond Dunkeld. A more important factor was the internal weaknesses of the new reformed church, which took until the next century to rectify.

310. Kirk, J., Patterns of Reform, xviii, 152-3, 328, 333.

CHAPTER TWO

THE CATHEDRAL CHAPTER DURING THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY(a) The Pre-Reformation Chapter.

Holinshed in his Historie of Scotland spoke of 'a church in the same place the Castill of Calidon sometime stood dedicated to St. Colme, built of fair square stones'.¹ Dunkeld had in fact been the site of an early Celtic community and was later chosen by Kenneth MacAlpin as the administrative centre of the early Culdee monasteries. The abbey was subsequently held by powerful laymen until the see was revived by Alexander I (1107-24). A new constitution was introduced circa 1236 by Geoffrey de Liberatione (1236-49) based on that of Salisbury Cathedral and led to the incorporation of an enlarged chapter.² Geoffrey was also responsible for the introduction of the Gregorian Chant. He was described by Fordun as 'a man in great favour with both clergy and people, zealous in temporal and spiritual things, who endeared himself with both great and poor, but was a terror to evil-doers'.³ Geoffrey, and many of his successors, were prominent in affairs of state. Richard de Inverkeithing (1250-72) was the guardian of the young king Alexander III (1241-86) and later chamberlain and auditor of accounts in the Exchequer. Matthew de Crambeth (1288-1309)

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1. Holinshed, R., The Historie of Scotland (London, 1577), 137 [hereafter Holinshed, Historie].
 2. Details of the pre-Reformation bishops can be found in Watt's Fasti, Keith, Bishops and Dowden, Bishops, see bibliography for fuller details.
 3. Fordun, John of, 'The Chronicle of the Scottish Nation' in The Historians of Scotland (Edinburgh, 1872), iv, 289.

attended Edward I's parliament at Westminster in 1305 and was appointed ambassador to France. Another prominent statesman was John de Peebles (1378-90), chancellor of Scotland. During his episcopate the cathedral was 'much wasted by wars and pestilence' and a ten year indulgence was granted to restore the fabric.

The refurbishment of the cathedral was mainly at the instigation of Bishops Robert de Cardeny (1398-1437) and Thomas Lauder (1452-75). A certain amount of the administrative efficiency, which was still evident in the sixteenth century, was achieved by Thomas Lauder, who united all the lands north of the Forth into the barony of Dunkeld and those to the south into the barony of Aberlady.⁴ George Brown (1483-1515) continued the refurbishment of the cathedral and was also responsible for building the palace on Loch Clunie, St. George's Hospital and the bridge over the Tay. His episcopate was cut short by his death in 1515, supposedly hastened by his involvement at Flodden two years prior. The appointment of his successor, Andrew Stewart (1515-16), was surrounded by controversy. Stewart was under pressure from his brother, the 2nd earl of Atholl, but despite obtaining royal consent from the Duke of Albany was unable to obtain confirmation. His successor, Gavin Douglas (1515-22), was equally controversial. Douglas, the youngest son of Archibald, 5th earl of Angus, received the crown nomination from his aunt, Queen Margaret, but was imprisoned by Albany for over a year. He was consecrated in 1516 following his release from the Sea-Tower in St. Andrews Castle. His tenure of office lasted only five years and his meddling in

4. Dunk. Rent., 337.

politics led to his downfall, which coincided with that of the Angus faction. In 1521 he was forfeited for treason and fled to London, where he died of the plague in 1522. George Crichton (1526-44), a former abbot of Holyrood, was equally ineffective. He was described as being 'in matters of religion not much skilled'. The ten years following his death saw an acrimonious dispute for the see, with Robert Crichton, his nephew, emerging as bishop in 1554.⁵

The cathedral complex was extensive, stretching from the centre of the village to the present Dunkeld House half a mile upstream. The cathedral itself was described by Alexander Myln as 'spacious and elegant'. Much of the refurbishment of the interior had been carried out by bishop George Brown, including 'many silk copes, matching in colour by pairs'. He also provided a tabernacle for the high altar and carved figures of the Apostles. Structural improvements included the renewal of the rood-loft, the altars of St. Michael and St. Martin and the choir-screens.⁶ The cathedral tower at the west end served as a consistory court, the walls being illustrated with two biblical judgement scenes; on the north wall 'The Judgement of Solomon' and on the west wall the New Testament moral 'The Woman taken in Adultery'. The bishop's residence in Dunkeld was situated to the southwest of the cathedral and comprised several long, two-storey houses.⁷ This residence is shown in Captain John Slezer's Theatrum Scotiae (1693), but few traces remain

5. This dispute is discussed in greater detail later in this chapter.

6. Dunk. Rent., 314.

7. Stewart, E., Dunkeld: An Ancient City (Coupar Angus, 1979), 18 [hereafter Stewart, Dunkeld].

today.⁸ The complex also included a nearby castle built by one of the lairds of Cardney and incorporated a great hall and vaulted granaries and larders. Subterranean passages reputedly connected the palace, cathedral and residences of the leading clergy.⁹ Episcopal residences were also to be found on the island on Loch Clunie, in St. Johns Street, Perth, at Auchtertool and in the Cowgate in Edinburgh. The residence on Loch Clunie afforded the bishop greater protection than Dunkeld and was described as 'the key of the see of Dunkeld'. The residence in Perth was situated in the Southgait and the site is still marked by a plaque near St. Johns Kirk. The site of the residence in Edinburgh is unclear but was located in the area of Infirmary Street and Niddrie Street in the Cowgate.¹⁰ These numerous residences were required to allow the bishop to carry out his various parliamentary and episcopal duties. Incorporated within the cathedral buildings were the school and Hospital of St. George, both founded by George Brown while he was chancellor.¹¹ The hospital supported a master and seven poor folk, providing 'a weekly boll of meal for certain decrepit poor folk in the city'.¹² On the street leading from the cathedral to the village were located many of the manses of the dignitaries and the

8. Captain John Slezer was a Dutchman who served as a royal engineer in Scotland during the reign of Charles II. His Theatrum Scotia, published 1693, was a collection of views of towns and castles; Donaldson, G., and Morpeth, R.S., A Dictionary of Scottish History (Edinburgh, 1977), 202.

9. Stewart, Dunkeld, 18.

10. Dunk. Rent., 317, 336-7, 397.

11. Ibid., 312, 315, 327.

12. Cowan, I.B. and Easson, D., Medieval Religious Houses of Scotland (London, 1976), 175. [hereafter Cowan and Easson, Religious Houses.]

prebendaries. During the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries great efforts were made to renovate these 'poor old-fashioned highland houses', though by 1570 many of them had fallen into disrepair.¹³ In the years following the Reformation many of these manses and prebendal crofts were sold or excambioned. As many of the clergy who owned them were non-resident they were of little practical use. In 1566 the dean, John Barton, exchanged his manse with John Stewart, 4th earl of Atholl, for land to the north of Bishop's Hill on the outskirts of Dunkeld.¹⁴ Duncan McNair's manse, which lay between that of Fungarth and Ruffil was mainly in ruins, although Andrew Abercrombie of Pettlepy still considered it a worthwhile acquisition in 1574-5.¹⁵ In 1586 John Lindsay, the chamberlain of Muckersie, sold his manse to William Glass, the cathedral's treasurer.¹⁶ By 1590 the manses of Ferdischaw, Craigie and Fern had also been sold.¹⁷

One of the important results of the administrative efficiency achieved during the fifteenth century was the significant contribution which Dunkeld made in terms of education and music. Boys entering the priesthood at Dunkeld were billeted with one of the canons or the vicars-choral and received a clerical rather than an intellectual grounding. Despite the importance attached to music John Major noted that the 'ecclesiastical policy of Scotland is not worthy

13. Dunk. Rent., 324; RMS, v, no. 70.

14. Chronicle of the families of Atholl and Tullibardine, ed. 7th Duke of Atholl (Edinburgh, 1908), v, pp.lxiii-lxiv. [hereafter Atholl and Tullibardine].

15. RMS, v, no. 70.

16. Atholl and Tullibardine, v, pp.lxiii-lxiv, clxi.

17. Ibid., v, pp.lxiii-lxiv, RMS, v, no. 1208.

of comparison with that of England; the bishops admit to the priesthood men who are quite unskilled in music and they ought at least to understand the Gregorian Chant'.¹⁸ This does not seem to have been the case with Dunkeld, which set high standards in terms of music. In 1446 the revenues of Abernethy were assigned for four additional vicars choral and later six further choirboys were appointed. By the early sixteenth century the members of the choir were 'highly trained in the theory of music as well as the art of singing', were 'steady in the chant' and 'sublime in musical theory and in organ-playing'.²⁰ The cathedral was well known for its antiphonary with its polyphonic settings for the ordinary of mass and anthems.²¹

Dunkeld had been a centre of learning since the early days of the Christian church. This tradition was continued in the early sixteenth century when chancellor George Brown (1500-4) endowed a scholastic chaplain to serve in the church of St. George and be master of the grammar school attached to the east gable of the cathedral. In 1518 dean George Hepburn (1497-1527) established a foundation for five or six Dominican scholars and in 1525 a decree from the chapter general applauded the success of some of the students.²² The bishop at this time, Gavin Douglas (1512-22),

18. Major, History, 30.

19. Dunk. Rent., 337.

20. Mylne, Vitae, 68-9; Cowan, Scottish Reformation, 12.

21. Borland, C.R., A Descriptive Catalogue of Western Medieval Manuscripts in Edinburgh University Library (Edinburgh, 1916), 113.

22. Moir-Bryce, W., The Blackfriars of Edinburgh (Edinburgh, 1911), 28.

encouraged such patronage. Douglas, who was better known for his poetry than his piety, was the author of The Palace of Honour and the translator into Scots of Virgil's Aeneid.²³ Myln mentions some notable academics within the chapter, such as David Wauchop, David Abercromby, Alexander Moncrieff and Walter Leslie, all lawyers, and Robert Schaw, a doctor of physic. The deans of Dunkeld were men with the 'necessary qualities and proper learning' and the prebendary of Forgandenny, who was the dean of Fife, Fothruff and Strathearn, was 'at that time principal regent of the Pedagogy in St. Andrews'.²⁴

The majority of graduates within the chapter studied theology at St. Andrews, however the study of law was also popular. Amongst the men connected with the Dunkeld chapter were a number of leading legal figures. In 1532 the Court of Session was endowed as the College of Justice and from 1535 judges of the court were designed as senators of the college.²⁵ In 1532 Alexander Myln was the first Lord President. Other senators included Bishop George Crichton (1533), prebendaries Abraham Crichton (1548), John Stevenson (1550) and John Lindsay (1581) and dean John Barton (1584).²⁶ Robert Pont (1572), minister of Dunkeld in 1562 and John Stewart, 4th earl of Atholl (1578) were also senators.²⁷

Foreign study was not uncommon amongst Dunkeld men. In 1525

23. The Palace of Honour (Bannatyne, 1827); Aeneid of Virgil (Bannatyne Club, 1839).

24. Dunk. Rent., 304.

25. Brunton and Haig, Senators, xxxi-xxxiv.

26. Ibid., 44-5, 92-3, 96, 177, 197.

27. Ibid., 151-3, 164.

James Crichton of Dunkeld was one of nine Scots awarded degrees in theology in Rome. Crichton was well known in the papal court and had connections with Cajetan.²⁸ Professor James Martin, who 'remembered his far-off Scots home among the wooded valleys of Dunkeld', settled abroad following the Reformation. Martin was a friend of Archbishop de Ravere of Turin and as a professor of Turin University was an advocate of Ramist logic.²⁹ The Universities of Louvain and Paris were popular amongst Scottish students during the sixteenth century. The post-Reformation graduates of Louvain included the Dunkeld Jesuits Edmund Hay, Robert Abercrombie and William Murdoch.³⁰ John Lindsay, parson of Menmuir, was a student at Paris in 1567. The university was very fashionable amongst Scots and during the 1570s and 1580s became steadily more catholic. By 1580 it boasted a large number of catholic Scots, from whose ranks James Tyrie wished to recruit Jesuits for the Scottish mission.³¹

At the Reformation Dunkeld supported two schools, one for the teaching of grammar and the other for music.³² In February 1567 a royal warrant led to the foundation of the new grammar school, in which the right of presentation was conferred upon the earl of

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- 28. McRoberts, Scottish Reformation, 198, 200n, 279; Forbes-Leith, W., Pre-Reformation Scholars in Scotland (Glasgow, 1915), 148.
 - 29. Chiaudano, M., 'I Lettori Dell' Università Di Torino Ai Tempi Di Emanuele Filiberto, 1566-1580' in L'Università di Torino (Turin, 1972), 100, 114; Burton, J.H., The Scot Abroad, (Edinburgh, 1864), ii, 103.
 - 30. The careers of the Dunkeld Jesuits are discussed in chapter 5.
 - 31. Narratives of Scottish Catholics under Mary Stuart and James VI, ed. Forbes-Leith, W. (Edinburgh, 1885), 166 [hereafter Forbes-Leith, Narratives].
 - 32. Dunk. Rent., 342.

Atholl and examination and admission vested in John Winram, the superintendent of Fife.³³ The school master was paid from the revenues of the prebends of Aberlady, Alyth and Muckersie. These revenues, with part of the rental of the hospital of the bishop of Dunkeld in Perth, had, prior to 1560, supported the 'blew freiris', boys who served in the choir of the cathedral.³⁴ Within the diocese as a whole there is little evidence of provision for education. Some parishes did have schools, but many, such as Ardeonaig in 1627, were forced to close: 'bot for lack of resources it dissolved'.³⁵ It was believed by many that the use of Gaelic in the highland parts of the diocese was a hindrance to progress.³⁶ Examples of this are not readily forthcoming, though it should be noted that of the forty signatories to a petition in 1579 calling for the relocation of the church at Inchaiden only four could write their names. The others were adhibited by a notary. The four signatories able to write were lairds, however many of the others, including important local gentlemen such as Alexander Menzies of Comrie, were unable to do so.³⁷

In terms of finance and personnel Dunkeld was a medium-sized cathedral. With an annual income of approximately £3400 it was the fifth wealthiest cathedral in Scotland, behind St. Andrews, Aberdeen, Elgin and Glasgow. Its income was only a quarter of that of St. Andrews, despite having only ten canons fewer. In terms of the

33. SRO TB E4 5/10 fo. 110v; RSS, vi, no. 160.

34. Dunk. Rent., 342.

35. Parishes, 180.

36. Gillies, Breadalbane, 326.

37. Gillies, Ibid., 326.

size of the chapter it was again the fifth largest, behind the same four cathedrals.³⁸ At the time of the Reformation the chapter conformed to the standard pattern, set out in the Salisbury Constitution, of bishop, principal dignitaries, lesser dignitaries and canons.³⁹ The principal dignitaries were the dean, precentor, chancellor and treasurer, and the lesser dignitaries, the subdean and subchanter. The archdeacon was included as one of the canons.⁴⁰ Cathedrals, such as Dunkeld, were corporations of secular canons, who were free of vows and were able to hold personal property.⁴¹ Many Dunkeld canons held more than one benefice, though few of these pluralists were as wealthy as Abraham Crichton the prebendary of Aberlady, who was also vicar or parson of at least seven other benefices, as well as being an official of Lothian and a judge of the Court of Session.⁴²

The dean's various functions included responsibility for discipline, the installation of new prebendaries for the choir, as well as the conducting of certain financial matters, including the collection of fines. These duties, coupled with his role as the bishop's deputy, ensured that the dean was usually resident at Dunkeld. The precentor was also resident and was responsible for the boys in the choir and for the appointment of teachers to the

38. Cowan and Easson, Religious Houses, 202.

39. Watt, Fasti, 101-2.

40. Dowden, J., The Medieval Church in Scotland (Glasgow, 1910), 62, 64n.

41. Ibid., 61-2; Dunlop, A., 'Life in a Medieval Cathedral', Society of the Friends of Dunblane Cathedral, iv, pt.4 (1945), 70-86.

42. For fuller details of Abraham Crichton see appendix (e), prebendaries: Aberlady.

music school. The chancellor, however, was often absent, but when in residence was responsible for the safe-keeping of the cathedral seal, the writing of letters, the compilation of lists of singers and readers for services, the appointment of the grammar schoolmaster and the care of the library. The treasurer was in charge of ornaments, relics and treasures, including the famous Columban relics. These relics of St. Columba, brought to Dunkeld ^{time of} ~~in the~~ Kenneth McAlpin, were reputedly removed to Ireland or the Western Isles at the time of the Reformation.

Dunkeld possessed a further fifteen prebends, other than those appropriated to the dignitaries. Their holders were often non-resident and were represented in the stalls by vicars-choral. The earlier provision that only those who were continuously resident should share in the common revenues had little effect. These vicars-choral were themselves often non-resident, being too occupied at university or pursuing their careers elsewhere. In 1500 Bishop George Brown appointed seven vicars-choral for seven new altars, 'which were to be honourably served, and enacted that one of them should celebrate in his turn each day of the week'.⁴³ There were perhaps as many as twenty-five altars and at the Reformation there is evidence of sixteen chaplains.⁴⁴ From amongst the prebendaries and chaplains were appointed the schoolmaster and the masters of the hospital and of entertainment. The office of master of the hospital of St. George was founded by George Hepburn (1497-1527) and the

43. Dunk. Rent., 311.

44. RMS, v, no. 1138.

incumbent provided support for 'certain decrepit poor folk in the city'.⁴⁵ The office of schoolmaster was founded by Bishop George Brown in 1506, however no incumbents are recorded. The prebendary of Ferdischaw and Logiebride was traditionally the master of entertainments and ceremonies, with responsibility for looking after visitors.

Discipline was also the responsibility of the rural deans, who were appointed at the end of the fifteenth century. Although the initial foundation was quite specific in terms of the areas to be covered, the remits of these officials varied considerably. The dean of Atholl, who pre-dated the new system, became the dean of Atholl and Drumalbane, while the dean of Rattray became responsible for Angus. Those deans serving parishes to the south of Dunkeld were known under various titles covering Fife, Fothruff, Lothian and Strathearn.⁴⁶ The responsibilities of the commissaries were also divided by location and covered three areas: Dunkeld, Tullilum and South of the Forth. The commissary of Dunkeld had general authority while the others were endowed with limited authority. The carmelite priory of Tullilum acted as the administrative centre for those parishes of the diocese around Perth.⁴⁷ The offices of rural dean and commissary, and also that of official, seem to have disappeared with the Reformation. John Barton, the dean, was the only recorded post-Reformation incumbent of any of these offices. In 1567 he was appointed commissary to those

45. Cowan and Easson, Religious Houses, 175, 178-9.

46. Watt, Fasti, 122-4.

47. Ibid., 125-6.

parts of Dunkeld north of the Forth.⁴⁸

The lay staff of the cathedral dealt mainly with financial matters. The chamberlain was 'chief among those in charge of the house and of his [the bishop's] privy advisers'.⁴⁹ He was usually a layman, but by the sixteenth century it was becoming common to appoint a canon. James Fenton, the precentor, was appointed chamberlain 'owing to his business ability'.⁵⁰ At the Reformation the chamberlain was also the accountant and held the prebend of Lundeiff.⁵¹ He was responsible for the bishop's accounts, the letting of church lands, the control of the rental book and the levying of rents, which was executed by the collector of the chapter. The chamberlain along with the baillie kept an eye on the formal and customary legal obligations of the bishop's tenants. As well as a baillie in Dunkeld there were also baillies at Auchtertool and at Aberlady. Little record exists of the extent of their duties and there are few returns to be found in the Dunkeld Rentale.⁵² The steward was concerned with domestic affairs such as household expenses and the stocking of larders. The sergeants in Dunkeld and Tibbermore dealt with the dues of poultry, salmon and livestock, which were often commuted for cash.⁵³ The granitars in Dunkeld, Clunie, Perth and Lothian collected the teinds of the mensal churches and supplied the meal and ~~bave~~ required for consumption in the

48. RSS, v, nos. 3156, 3209.

49. Dunk. Rent., xvii.

50. Ibid., 322; Watt, Fasti, 109.

51. Acts and Decs., xlvi, fo. 90; Dunk. Rent., 363.

52. Dunk. Rent., 258, 268.

53. Ibid., xix-xx.

episcopal households, while the avenars in Dunkeld and Clunie dealt with grain for the horses and poultry. The granitar of Lothian, as well as collecting the teinds of Cramond and Aberlady, also acted as the bishop's agent in Edinburgh. He was not responsible, however, for collecting the teinds of Abercorn, Bunkle and Preston, which were already set in tack.⁵⁴ These officials were also responsible for the collection of other subsidies, such as the contribution to the French king's crusade authorised by the bishop in 1509.⁵⁵ The cathedral also employed other servitors such as the beadle and 'sindrie bollmen, pikmen, officaris, auld servandis to the number of x personis, sic as wrycht, masoun, sklater, gardnar, fischer and siclyk'.⁵⁶ Bishop Crichton had at least three personal servants during his period of office and his many kinsmen presumably held posts of some sort. Any estimate of the total staff of the cathedral would be difficult, but may be put at between fifty and eighty persons.

(b) Robert Crichton, Bishop of Dunkeld c.1554-71, 1584-5

Robert Crichton was the youngest son of Sir Patrick Crichton of Cranston-Riddell and the nephew of George Crichton, bishop of Dunkeld from 1516 to 1544. The Crichtons had close links with Perthshire, with branches of the family at Clunie, Forgandenny, Innernytie and Ruthven.⁵⁷ In 1512 Robert was incorporated at St. Andrews

54. Ibid., xxi.

55. Ibid., xxi-xxii.

56. Ibid., 342.

57. The Scots Peerage, ed. Balfour Paul, J. (Edinburgh, 1904), iii, 221; iv, 123-4; v, 83 [hereafter Scots Peerage].

University and graduated four years later.⁵⁸ Sometime prior to graduation he was appointed clerk of the aisle and altar of Holyrood.⁵⁹ In 1517 he became provost of the collegiate church of St. Giles in Edinburgh and served until his retirement in 1554. His successor, Alexander Campbell, was a clerk of the diocese of Dunkeld and perhaps later dean of Moray (1557-63), who at the time of John Hamilton's provision to Dunkeld in 1544 was assigned a pension of 1000 pounds Scots.⁶⁰ In conjunction with the office of provost Crichton was also vicar-perpetual of Musselburgh, near Edinburgh.⁶¹ As provost he was seldom resident, supposedly on account of his studies: 'nunc causa studii in remotis agentis'. In fact much of this period was spent in Rome pursuing his career at the papal court. His place at chapter meetings was taken by a vicar, Laurence Tod.⁶² Crichton's relationship with Dunkeld began many years prior to his appointment as bishop. In 1529 he procured the prebend of Muckersie and in the following year was the cathedral precentor under his uncle.⁶³ The appointment does not seem to have been confirmed until 1534 due to a lengthy dispute with John Douglas. Although Crichton was a 'king's familiar' whose 'loyalty and character ... justified royal support', he was known to have obtained the office by means

58. St. A. Recs., 103, 105, 207.

59. Lees, J.C., St. Giles', Edinburgh (Edinburgh and London, 1889), 76-77 [hereafter Lees, St. Giles].

60. Fraser, Grandtully, i, 52; Acts and Decs., viii, fo. 309; Laing Chrs., nos. 144, 147; Watt, Fasti, 221, 357; Dowden, Bishops, 89, 92.

61. Reg. Supp., 2086, fos. 289v-290r.

62. Lees, St. Giles, 76-77.

63. Reg. Supp. 1981, fo. 289r; 1995 fos. 56v-57v; Watt, Fasti, 109.

which were a 'danger to equity through fraud'.⁶⁴ When the benefice became vacant Crichton went to Rome where he gained possession by ensuring that no-one else knew of the vacancy. In 1532 he was to have been appointed chancellor of Moray but the exchange with Walter Maxwell never took place.⁶⁵ During his early career he spent a great deal of time in Rome and was later to use his influence with the College of Cardinals to counter the claims of Arran's bastard brother John Hamilton, abbot of Paisley, to the diocese of Dunkeld. Crichton was especially friendly with Giovanni Angelo Medici, archbishop of Ragusa. Medici was made a cardinal in 1549 and in 1559 became Pope Pius IV. In the same year he was referred to as 'the great friend and protector of your prelate from Dunkeld when he was pursuing his business in Rome'.⁶⁶ Medici is described as 'friendly, lively, contented and well-liked for his charitable acts', however, like Crichton, he was not a strong theologian.⁶⁷

The succession to the bishopric was in dispute for over a decade. Crichton had been manoeuvring, both in Rome and in Scotland, to succeed his uncle well before his death in 1544.⁶⁸ In 1543 Arran protested to the Pope that a reservation and provision had taken place without him having been consulted.⁶⁹ However shortly after he had been made governor Arran had subscribed a paper

64. The Letters of King James V, ed. Hay, D. (Edinburgh, 1954), 251, 260 [hereafter James V Letters].

65. Watt, Fasti, 287.

66. Papal Negs., 417.

67. Kelly, J.N.D., The Oxford Dictionary of Popes (Oxford, 1986), pp. 266-268.

68. Dowden, Bishops, 88.

69. Watt, Fasti, 99-100.

authorising the resignation of George Crichton in favour of his nephew. In a letter to Rudolf, cardinal of Capri, the queen-dowager, Mary of Guise, implied that royal consent was not freely given.⁷⁰ Archbishop Beaton undoubtedly approved of the appointment of Crichton as their families were related by marriage, however he was also prepared to change sides in favour of Hamilton.⁷¹ Hamilton's provision to the see was immediately challenged by Crichton, who at the time was in Rome claiming to have obtained papal provision.⁷² He also claimed to be the crown nominee as he was earlier co-adjutor and successor to his uncle.⁷³ He may even have had a grant made 'per incuriam', as the queen-dowager pleaded with Pope Paul III to nullify it. The Cardinal of Capri, however, made it clear that Paul III was acting under the constraint of an earlier promise made to Crichton.⁷⁴ In response to Crichton's intrigues Hamilton took matters into his own hands by forcibly occupying the episcopal residence, prompting an appeal by Nicol Crichton in December 1543 'touching the wrong done to him [George Crichton] in the taking of his palace of Cluny and stepill of Dunkeld'.⁷⁵

A protracted legal battle ensued between Crichton and Hamilton. In January 1546 the problem was handed over to a committee of cardinals to try and find an amicable solution, however they seem to

70. Dowden, Bishops, 89.

71. St. A. Rent, 143; Dowden, Bishops, 91n; Herkless J. and Hannay R.K., The Archbishops of St. Andrews (Edinburgh, 1907-15), v, 11.

72. Dowden, Bishops, 88.

73. Reg. Vat., 1696, fo. 345.

74. Dowden, Bishops, 88.

75. APS, ii, 430.

have been unable to find a suitable compromise.⁷⁶ At the parliament of August 1546, Crichton, who was present as the 'elect of Dunkeld', was accused of infringing the queen's right of nomination and her advocate called for the reduction of 'ane pretendit decrete given be certine cardinalis deput be the Papis holyness'.⁷⁷ In December of that year Crichton was at the horn for non-payment of his share of the tax of £6,000 to recover St. Andrews Castle, and his gift to Moncreiff of that ilk of the escheat of the tacks of Dunbarney, Moncreiff and Poty was placed in the hands of the queen.⁷⁸ The litigants were still disputing the see in December 1547 and Crichton continued to claim for a considerable time thereafter that he had been his uncle's co-adjutor.⁷⁹ During much of the contest Hamilton was 'evil vexed with infirmity and continual sickness', however the dispute and Hamilton's ill-health were eased by his appointment to St. Andrews, which became effective in June 1549.⁸⁰ Crichton was promised the bishopric of Ross, or failing that, Dunkeld.⁸¹ Arran nevertheless tried to persuade Paul III to appoint an alternative candidate, Donald Campbell, abbot of Coupar Angus, who was granted the temporalities of the see in June 1549.⁸²

This second wrangle took a further five years to resolve, for

76. Dowden, Bishops, 89.

77. APS, ii, 468, 469.

78. RSS, iii, nos. 1887, 2041; TA, ix, 10; Moncreiff, F. and Moncreiff, W., The Moncreiffs and the Moncreiffes (Edinburgh, 1929), 79, 306.

79. Watt, Fasti, 100.

80. Ibid, 298.

81. APS, ii, 480.

82. RSS, iv, nos. 310, 312, 2142-3.

the see remained vacant until 1554.⁸³ Both candidates appealed either in person or through intermediaries to Rome and to the French court. In 1548 Cardinal Farnese wrote to Mary of Guise to explain that Campbell's appointment would not be ratified by the Pope.⁸⁴ Further pressure from Rome was exerted on Mary when the bishop of Cenedo wrote to her in the following year requesting that Crichton be given the church of Dunkeld so that justice could be seen to be done, whilst adding that she would in all other respects receive the obedience due to her.⁸⁵ As a result of this letter the queen-dowager wrote to the king of France complaining that Campbell's promotion had been blocked by the 'importune solicitation and wrong information of one Master Robert Crichton, who on his manner intends to purchase the same but [without] any supplication or leave of my lord governor, or having any authority for the time, to the great hurt of the queens graces priviledge, which is and aye has been in use, that no promotion of prelacy pass Rome, but [without] the princes supplication therefore'. The letter begged the French king to 'write rycht effectuatiuslie' to the Pope, cardinals and the French ambassador in Rome to preserve the queen's right of nomination.⁸⁶ In April 1550 it was requested that the views of the Estates concerning appointments to vacant sees be observed in Rome, as in the case of Dunkeld.⁸⁷

83. RPC, i, 91.

84. CSP Scot, i, no. 209.

85. Foreign Correspondence with Marie de Lorraine Queen of Scotland, 1548-57, ed. Wood, M., (SHS, 1925), ii, 190 [hereafter Balcarres Papers].

86. RPC, i, 91; Keith, History, i, 445-6.

87. RPC, i, 91.

During much of this period Crichton was in Rome seeking support and in 1552 a royal summons was issued against him for leaving Scotland without licence three years earlier.⁸⁸ On his return journey to Scotland in January 1553 he gained an audience with Charles, cardinal of Lorraine. Crichton informed the cardinal that he had obtained the necessary decrees proving that the diocese was his, but that he feared there would be opposition to his appointment. He persuaded Charles to beg his sister, Mary of Guise, to help him maintain his right so that he might enjoy his bishopric in peace.⁸⁹ In September 1553 the Estates of Scotland wrote to the Pope and the College of Cardinals complaining that Crichton had not only solicited provision to the see, but that he had also raised an action in the papal court against Campbell, the queen's nominee. The letter was to no avail as Crichton was finally granted a royal licence for the purchase of the bishopric and in 1554 made his first appearance in parliament as bishop of Dunkeld.⁹⁰

Not surprisingly his promotion was unpopular and was one of the reasons behind his quarrel with Archibald Douglas of Kilspindie, the provost of Edinburgh. In 1556 Crichton and the lairds of Drilaw and Innerwick with a large group of kinsmen 'arrived in warlike manner' and attempted unsuccessfully to ambush Douglas in Aberlady.⁹¹ In 1561 the dispute between the two over the teinds of Aberlady had to be settled by the crown.⁹² Once in office Crichton does not appear

88. Acts & Decs, viii, fo. 309.

89. Balcarres Papers, ii, 190.

90. RSS, iv, nos. 2142-3; APS, ii, 603; Acts & Decs, viii, fo. 310.

91. Pitcairn, Trials, i, 39.

92. Dunk. Rent, 344-5.

to have been overly-active and despite his later stand against the kirk there is little mention of him at the Reforming Councils of the 1550s, save for his involvement with a synod concerning concubinage. He did, however, attend the trial of the heretic, Walter Myln, in 1558.⁹³

Despite his disputes with the crown before his promotion Crichton's relations with Mary became more cordial after her appointment as regent in 1554, and in 1559 he was one of her few active supporters. In October of that year, when Edinburgh was being threatened by the Lords of the Congregation, Crichton accompanied Mary to Leith and in April 1560 escorted her to Edinburgh Castle.⁹⁴ At this time he was reviled as one of those who was openly in favour of the French.⁹⁵ Although Crichton attended the Reformation Parliament of August 1560 he had little liking for protestant reform.⁹⁶ This was understandable as his own cathedral had been sacked by the lairds of Airntully and Kinvaid while parliament was in session. Both Crichton and John Hamilton, the archbishop of St. Andrews, seem to have attended parliament reluctantly, as they 'raid not fra the abbay [of Holyrood] to the tolbuith ... becaus thej wer at divisioun'.⁹⁷ According to Thomas Randolph, the English ambassador in Edinburgh, Crichton remained 'as obstinate as ignorant' and refused to listen to John Knox, whom he

93. Patrick, Statutes, 163.

94. Diurnal, 54, 57.

95. CSP Foreign Elizabeth, 1559-60, no. 392.

96. Diurnal, 61; APS, ii, 525.

97. Diurnal, 61.

mocked as an 'old condemned heretic'.⁹⁸ Crichton, one of the few respectable bishops of the period, was considered to be a 'chief pillar' of the Roman Catholic Church.⁹⁹ His stance in 1560 was likened by Maitland of Lethington, one of the leaders of the Congregation, to that of Archbishop Hamilton and William Chisholm of Dunblane: 'they did liberally profess that they would agree to all things that might stand with God's word and consent to abolish all abuses crept in the church not agreeable with the scriptures'. He refused to sign the Confession of Faith, but declined to reject it outright. Randolph reported that 'as he would not utterly condemn it so was he loath to give his consent hitherto'.¹⁰⁰ Attempts were made to force both Hamilton and Chisholm to adhere to the Confession, but less pressure seems to have been exerted on Crichton, either on account of his relative lack of influence or his intransigence.¹⁰¹ On 25 August, however, Crichton, who had filed a bill of complaint of misuse and contempt of authority, was called before parliament to pursue his complaint. Not surprisingly he failed to appear and was lucky to survive an attempt to stay his living.¹⁰²

During the first week of Queen Mary's return to Scotland in August 1561 Crichton was one of those who joined her household. However he was not a popular man with the citizens of Edinburgh and was scared to show his face out of doors 'for fear of afterclaps'.¹⁰³

98. CSP Scot., i, no. 881.

99. Knox, History, i, 335.

100. CSP Scot., i, no. 885.

101. McRoberts, Scottish Reformation, 81.

102. CSP Foreign Elizabeth, 1560-1, no. 454.

103. Ibid., 1561-2, no. 455.

Realising that his position was somewhat tenuous following the proclamation of the privy council giving tacit recognition to the reformed church, Crichton, along with Archbishop Hamilton and Bishops Sinclair and Hepburn, offered the queen a quarter of his livings to use as she thought expedient.¹⁰⁴ This offer is confirmed in an entry in the Dunkeld Rentale in 1561: 'quilk was in this effect; the kirkmen prelattis of Scotland being restorit to their livings, rentis, possessions and jurisdictions they grantit to gif her grace for the outsetting of her majesties honest effaris the fourt part of their levings for ane yeir allanerlie, protestand and adherand to the protestationis made in name of the haill clergie and kirkmen of Scotland be ane mais reverent father in God, John archbishope of St. Androis'.¹⁰⁵

Although Crichton's activities were restricted in Edinburgh, on his return to Dunkeld he continued to worship as he had done prior to 1560. His continued adherence to the catholic faith, in breach of the proclamation of August 1560, led to his impeachment before Mary in the following year. In 1562 he celebrated an Easter Mass at which the Dominican, Andrew Abercrombie, preached. Abercrombie was one of the catholic men of learning appointed in December 1565 'to preach in public and to teach the catholic faith to the people'.¹⁰⁶ In 1562 Crichton was the only Scottish bishop to receive Nicholas de Gouda, the unofficial papal envoy, who was accompanied by the Jesuits, Edmund Hay and William Crichton, both relatives of the

104. Knox, History, ii, 307-8; RPC, i, 194.

105. Dunk. Rent., 340.

106. Papal Negs., 491.

bishop.¹⁰⁷ The envoy was smuggled to the Hays' family house at Megginch and from there to Crichton's palace on Loch Clunie. Crichton arranged to meet de Gouda only if he travelled 'incognito', disguised as an Italian banker's clerk, and spoke of religion only when alone with the bishop. They discussed the desolation of the monasteries and the lethargy of the Scottish bishops. In a letter to Crichton's earlier friend Pius IV de Gouda bemoaned 'how little would be done for the cause of religion by negotiation with these good men'.¹⁰⁸

Despite this criticism Crichton proved to be an active supporter of the catholic faith and despite the harassment of the early 1560s continued to celebrate the mass with the assistance of many of his cathedral and parish clergy. In December 1564 he attended parliament even though he was 'not adionyt to the religion'.¹⁰⁹ He openly opposed the act against the mass, which he claimed was prejudicial to the 'See Apostolike'.¹¹⁰ His survival can partly be attributed to the fact that he was well thought of by Mary. In December 1566 he assisted at Prince Charles James's catholic baptism, wearing 'rockattis and huidis'.¹¹¹ In the same year he was a member of the commission, which also included two Dunkeld canons, George Cook and Alexander Crichton, convened to enquire into the validity of

107. Ibid., lvi.

108. Ibid., 135, 137.

109. Diurnal, 78.

110. CSP Scot., ii, 124; TA, xi, 333.

111. Diurnal, 104.

Bothwell's marriage.¹¹¹ In December 1567 Crichton was under attack from the regent, James Stewart, earl of Moray, for ignoring the acts against 'that abominable ydoll the mess one of the maist devillisch and superstituous inventions of the antichristis'.¹¹³ Undeterred, Crichton continued to celebrate the mass and as a result in January 1568 was warded, with two others, in his house in Edinburgh.¹¹⁴ Later in the year he was again ordered to remain in Edinburgh charged with the same offence.¹¹⁵ In May of that year he was one of those who proposed the release of the queen and the restoration of her authority following her flight to England.¹¹⁶ Despite his earlier warding Crichton remained defiant and in 1570 refused to pay his church dues, being put to the horn in December for non-payment of thirds.¹¹⁷

Nevertheless in June 1571 he was again present at the king's party parliament, but at the next sitting on 30 August was convicted of treason, deprived of his bishopric and forfeited.¹¹⁸ His forfeiture was due as much to his association with the Marian Party during the civil war as to his continued catholicism.¹¹⁹ He was imprisoned, with the laird of Drilaw, David and George Crichton, and nine others, presumably kinsmen, 'for being in company of, remaining

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- 112. Spottiswoode, History, ii, 41; Knox, Works, ii, 536; Crawford, D., Memoirs of the Affairs of Scotland (Edinburgh, 1753), 18.
 - 113. Durkan, J., 'The Early Jesuit Missions in Scotland', IR, xxxv (1984), 4.
 - 114. CSP Foreign Elizabeth, 1566-8, no. 1957.
 - 115. RPC, i, 629.
 - 116. Keith, History, ii, 807-810.
 - 117. RSS, vi, no. 1052.
 - 118. Watt, Fasti, 100.
 - 119. Keith, Bishops, 97; RSS, vi, no. 2812.

within the said burgh of Edinburgh, with sic personis as rebellit agains his Hienes authorities for the time'.¹²⁰ Unlike Grange and his brother Thomas Kirkcaldy Crichton escaped execution, but was imprisoned in Edinburgh Castle and later in 1573 was committed to Blackness.¹²¹ After his release from Blackness he was warded in his lodging in Edinburgh and remained there for the remainder of his forfeiture.¹²² With his servant, David Crichton, vicar of Auchtertool, he lived in the west part of the turnpike within the great tenement on the High Street, belonging to the Hospital of St. Thomas.¹²³ In 1575 Robert, Bishop of Dunkeld, was recorded as taking part in the consecration of a protestant bishop. Robert was presumably a scribal error for James, who was bishop at that time.¹²⁴ In 1580 Robert Abercrombie the Jesuit and former treasurer of Dunkeld, wrote the following account of Crichton:

'There is only one catholic bishop, named Robert Crichton, of noble rank, of an important family, of spotless life from his youth, as even the heretics admit. He is so firmly attached to the catholic religion, that rather than give up the least ceremony, he allowed himself to be deprived of his bishopric and all his possessions and was even ready to shed his blood. He now lives in Edinburgh in extreme poverty, he has nothing except the alms which good men give him, so scanty they could hardly suffice for himself and a servant. I am certain he would not go anywhere outside Scotland, for he will not even leave the city to go stay with some noblemen who would like him to be provided for in their houses as long as he lives, nor is he fit to do so, however much he might want to, for he is an old man and failing in health; he is eighty years old, perhaps a good deal more. In his youth he spent much time in Rome,

120. CSP Scot., iv, no. 639.

121. Ibid., iv, no. 665; Hist. King James VI, 145.

122. Diurnal, 340; RPC, ii, 218.

123. RPC, iii, 356-8.

124. James Paton, Bishop of Dunkeld, 1571-84; Reg. Pres., fo. 120; RSS, vii, no. 186; Donaldson, Scottish Reformation, 56.

conducting a lawsuit to get possession of his diocese from which he was most unjustly excluded. When he had at length won his case he returned home and was restored to his diocese, he remained in peaceful possession only six or seven years when he was again deprived of it and robbed of everything by the heretics'.¹²⁵

By 1581 his financial position was so parlous that he petitioned the crown for assistance and received provision to collect a portion of the fruits of his former bishopric.¹²⁶ In the same year he successfully raised an action against his successor, James Paton, resulting in the latter's escheat.¹²⁷ This portion which he regained cannot have been inconsiderable as in 1582-3 he was the patron of a hospital in Edinburgh.¹²⁸ In February 1583 a report described Crichton as 'ane man of grit aige, waik and febill and nocht apperandlie to have longis dayis'.¹²⁹ In the following year he resumed certain of his episcopal powers and by 22 August was fully restored to office.¹³⁰ In October John Barton, the dean, was confirmed as co-adjutor to 'Robert, Bishop of Dunkeld [who] is becaumin waik and imbecill of persone throw his great aige, that he may noways gudlie trawell and exerce the function and cuir belonging to his vocation'.¹³¹ Crichton died sometime prior to 26 March 1585, when permission was given by the town council in Edinburgh to the

125. Anderson, W.J., 'Narratives of the Scottish Reformation', IR, vii (1956), 3.

126. RPC, iii, 356-8.

127. RSS, viii, nos. 1308, 1387.

128. Reg. Pres., ii, fo. 85v.

129. RSS, viii, no. 1132.

130. APS, iii, 373; Reg. Pres., ii, fo. 114.

131. RSS, viii, no. 2487.

royal request that he be buried in St. Giles'.¹³² Although this has been construed as an indication of a late conversion to protestantism, shortly before he death he was still referred to as an 'old doting papist' and 'an excommunicated and professed papist'.¹³³ It is more likely that permission was granted for his burial in recognition of the fact that he was an ex-provost of St. Giles and in view of his long and close association with Edinburgh.

(c) The Post-Reformation Chapter

The leading figures in the chapter at the time of the Reformation are readily identifiable. The dean in 1560 was James Hepburn (1526-66) of the family of Whitsome, who were kinsmen of the earls of Bothwell.¹³⁴ In 1532 Hepburn had appealed against Bothwell's warding in Edinburgh Castle following suspicious dealings with Henry VIII, and later in 1549 Bothwell and his 'cousing dene of Dunkeld' were involved in attempts to prevent the earl's castle at Hermitage falling into the hands of the English.¹³⁵ Hepburn had been appointed dean in 1526, while still treasurer of Moray and provost of Crichton.¹³⁶ As dean he was also the prebendary of Inchaiden and Clunie.¹³⁷ Hepburn also had connections with friar

132. Lees, St. Giles, 179; Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh ed. Marwick, J.D. (Edinburgh, 1871), iv, 465.

133. CSP Scot., vii, no. 266.

134. Scots Peerage, ii, 145, 147, 155.

135. The Scottish Correspondence of Mary of Lorraine, 1542-60, ed. Cameron, A.I. (SHS, 1927), 303, 320n; TA, ix, 331; Acta Dominorum Concilli et Sessionis, ed. Shearer, H. (Stair Soc., 1951), 14.

136. Watt, Fasti, 230, 350.

137. Haws, Scottish Parish Clergy, 42, 109.

John Roger, one of the catholic preachers employed by Mary, Queen of Scots, and presented him with a copy of Lyra's Quinta Pars Biblie. He was also involved with two of the other preachers employed by Mary, John Black and Andrew Abercrombie.¹³⁸ In 1566 he was succeeded by John Barton (1566-89), the vicar-pensionary of Forgandenny and vicar of Preston, both churches of Dunkeld.¹³⁹ John Barton was probably the chaplain, John Beaton, who had helped Crichton celebrate the mass during the early 1560s.¹⁴⁰ Barton had close dealings with John Stewart, earl of Atholl, including giving gifts to the earl of land and a manse in Dunkeld.¹⁴¹ As well as being dean he also served as a commissary for those Dunkeld churches north of the Forth and was appointed a senator of the College of Justice.¹⁴² His career as a reformed church minister of the parishes of Blair Atholl, Kilmaveonaig, Lude, Rannoch and Struan was curtailed in 1575 when he was accused of non-residence.¹⁴³ His appointment as a senator in 1584 surprised many, as he was 'a man that has kept himself obscure these twenty years past for papistry and necromancy'.¹⁴⁴

138. ESL, 117, 139; Lynch, M, ed., Mary Stewart: Queen in Three Kingdoms, IR, xxxviii (1988), 17, 87.

139. Watt, Fasti, 105-6; Assump. 296; RSS, v, no. 3178; vi, no. 90; TB, 163, 286.

140. RMS, v, no. 1138.

141. Atholl and Tullibardine, v, p.lxiii.

142. RSS, v, nos. 3156, 3209; Brunton and Haig, Senators, 197; Calderwood, History, iv, 341.

143. BUK, i, 336.

144. Laing, D., Original Letters of Mr. John Colville, 1582-1603 (Bannatyne Club, 1858), 83-4.

The precentor at the Reformation was William Adamson (1538-65), the son of an Edinburgh merchant. Adamson served as a chaplain in Edinburgh during the 1520s and 1530s.¹⁴⁵ In 1542 the Adamson family had feued their estate of Craigcrook from the church of St. Giles when Robert Crichton was provost. In 1565 Adamson was succeeded by William Curll (1565-71) a member of one of Edinburgh's leading catholic families.¹⁴⁶ His father James, described in 1571 as the 'allegit chantor of Dunkeld', was a member of the loyalist town council headed by lord Seton, which was twice purged by the protestant lords in 1559-60, and James was active in catholic politics in the burgh throughout the 1560s.¹⁴⁷ In 1575 he was at Paris University, 'an exile from his country for championing the cause of Christian Catholic Apostolic and Roman Religion'.¹⁴⁸ In 1571 William was at the horn for non-compearance 'to have ansuerit to sic things as suld have been inquirit of him at his cumming'.¹⁴⁹ The precentorship thereafter transferred to the patronage of the ultra-protestant Ruthven family. In 1571 George Ruthven, the vicar of Fowlis Wester and tutor to lord Ruthven, was appointed precentor, but was killed in the same year with Lennox at Stirling.¹⁵⁰ He was replaced by his brother James (1571-95), who was also patron of chapels at Ruthven, Tibbermore and Forgandenny.¹⁵¹

145. PB Foular, nos. 192, 229, 344.

146. Watt, Fasti, 109.

147. Lynch, Edinburgh, 181, 195.

148. CSP Rome, 1572-8, nos. 429-30.

149. RSS, v, nos. 1450, 2113; vi, no. 13436.

150. Watt, Fasti, 109-110.

151. Watt, Fasti, 110; RSS, viii, no. 1907.

William Gordon (1553-71), the chancellor in 1560, belonged to the family of Lesmoir, which was related to the noble families of Atholl and Huntly.¹⁵² Gordon was a notable pluralist and in the 1550s was dean of Dunblane, chancellor of Dunkeld, treasurer of Caithness and a canon of Moray.¹⁵³ Following attempts to purge the catholic chapter Gordon was replaced by William Edmonstone in 1571.¹⁵⁴ As well as serving as chancellor Edmonstone was also minister at Cargill and Caputh and was a General Assembly commissioner for Dunkeld and Perth.¹⁵⁵

Two men served as treasurer between 1554 and 1561. Since it is unlikely that they served concurrently it may be assumed that the office was the centre of continuous litigation between John Moncrieff (1549-61) and Stephen Culross (1554-61).¹⁵⁶ Moncrieff was a 'Scot of noble family' who was recommended by James V to the Cardinal of Ravenna and it was probably while acting as servant to the cardinal that he procured the treasurership.¹⁵⁷ Following the Reformation he was one of the few pre-Reformation members of the chapter to serve in the reformed church, serving as exhorter at Little Dunkeld.¹⁵⁸ Early inclinations towards the reformed faith may have hastened his replacement as treasurer. Stephen Culross had been a canon of Dunblane and was a kinsman of the recusant bishop, William

152. Watt, Fasti, 112.

153. Ibid., 69, 82; SRO Guthrie and Guthrie GD 188 box 1 no. 11.

154. Watt, Fasti, 112.

155. BUK, 204; ii, 796.

156. Watt, Fasti, 115.

157. James V Letters, 208-9.

158. RMS, iv, no. 765; TB, 92.

Chisholm.¹⁵⁹ He was also treasurer of Orkney and perhaps vicar of Dron, in Perthshire.¹⁶⁰ In 1561 Culross, using the alias Wilson, was the unsuccessful litigant in the dispute for the office with Robert Abercrombie (1561-73).¹⁶¹ Culross was probably the same man as the pre-Reformation Dunblane cleric, Stephen Wilson, who after 1560 acted as a messenger for the bishop of Dunblane and the queen and spent much of the 1560s on the continent in contact with the Jesuits.¹⁶² His successor, Robert Abercrombie, was of the catholic family of Murthly. He procured the office in 1561 despite the attempts of the Lords of the Congregation to make him subscribe the Confession of Faith in the previous year.¹⁶³ In 1562 he left Scotland with Edmund Hay and joined the Jesuits at Louvain.¹⁶⁴ He survived as treasurer until 1573, when he was replaced for failing to subscribe the Articles of Religion.¹⁶⁵ In order to prevent a similar situation the treasurers appointed thereafter were all reformed church clergy. Duncan McNair (1573-7) was a former Dunkeld chaplain and notary and seems to have conformed in 1574, serving as reader at Little Dunkeld.¹⁶⁶ His successor, Walter Stewart (1582), was also a late convert and like McNair had pre-Reformation links with the chapter. Stewart was the pre-Reformation vicar-pensioner of Dowally and conformed to served there as reader in 1574.¹⁶⁷ This

159. RMS, iii, nos. 1257, 1532; CSP Scot, i, no. 797.

160. RMS, iii, no. 3102; Watt, Fasti, 257.

161. Watt, ibid., 115.

162. CSP Foreign Elizabeth, 1564-5, no. 1711.

163. J.R.L. Crawford, mss box P, iv, 63.

164. Papal Negs., lvi.

165. RSS, vi, no. 2240.

166. Wod. Misc., 355; Reg. Min., 80.

167. Watt, Fasti, 115; Wod. Misc., 355.

earlier involvement with the cathedral undoubtedly explains their reluctance to conform until well after the Reformation. William Glass (1583-1623) had no such ties of loyalty, his career being totally post-Reformation.¹⁶⁸

The subdean was Richard Haldane (1558-1606), one of the Haldanes of Gleneagles. He appears to have served as a chaplain after his graduation from the protestant college of St. Leonard's in 1541.¹⁶⁹ At the time of the Reformation, however, it is unclear what his religious affiliations were. Despite the fact that his family was alleged to have 'played a consistent and determined part on the side of religious freedom',¹⁷⁰ he personally is known to have had close links with Alexander Abercrombie of Murthly, a well-known local catholic.¹⁷¹ The subdean was a former chaplain, William Crichton (1558-65), one of the many kinsmen employed by Robert Crichton.¹⁷² His successor Andrew Abercrombie (1565-91) should not be confused with the Blackfriar of the same name, who was the brother of the treasurer, Robert Abercrombie.¹⁷³ The archdeaconry was held by the Spens family and in 1581 David Spens (1547-86) was either followed or assisted by his son James.¹⁷⁴

Holinshed related that Dunkeld was endowed 'with manie faire revenues and great possession for the maintenance of the bishop and

168. Watt, Fasti, 115.

169. St. A. Recs., 144, 146, 243; AFA, ii, 394, 397.

170. Haldane, J.A.L., The Haldanes of Gleneagles (London, 1929), 39-40.

171. TB, 255.

172. Watt, Fasti, 118.

173. Ibid., 118.

174. Ibid., 121-2.

his canons'.¹⁷⁵ The cathedral possessed twenty-five prebendal or mensal churches, which were appropriated to the dignitaries or canons. Lagganallochie and Tealing were appropriated to the archdeacon;¹⁷⁶ Lethendy to the chancellor;¹⁷⁷ Clunie and Inchaiden to the dean;¹⁷⁸ Rattray to the subchanter;¹⁷⁹ Obney to the subdean;¹⁸⁰ Caputh, Dowally and Little Dunkeld to the treasurer.¹⁸¹ In 1560 most of the other canons were men with a long association with the pre-Reformation church, who in time were replaced by protestant incumbents.

Abraham Crichton, the prebendary of Aberlady, was a non-serving pluralist, who had been accumulating benefices since the 1520s.¹⁸² He had been a supporter of Mary of Guise and in 1559 was in Edinburgh Castle with his kinsman, the bishop.¹⁸³ Crichton held numerous posts in local and central government. As well as being an official of Lothian, he was also a judge of the Court of Session and lord of Council.¹⁸⁴ John Kemp, the prebendary in 1567, was also a supporter of Mary of Guise. His son William was the prebendary from 1565 until his death in 1578.¹⁸⁵

175. Holinshed, Historie, 137.

176. Myln, Vitae, 13; SHS Misc., vi, 48; Reg. Supp., 386, fo. 40; Cowan, Parishes, 126, 196.

177. Dunk. Rent., 347; Cowan, Parishes, 131; Assump. 294v.

178. Myln, Vitae, 10; Cowan, Parishes, 32, 84-5; SHS Misc., vi, 73.

179. Reg. Pres., i, fo. 106v; Cowan, Parishes, 131; Myln, Vitae, 5; SHS Misc., vi, 73.

180. Cowan, Parishes, 169; Myln, Vitae, 5; SHS Misc., vi, 73.

181. Reg. Pres., i, fo. 100v; SHS Misc., vi, 48.

182. Assump. 173v; RSS, v, no. 2314.

183. Leslie, History, ii, 435.

184. Watt, Fasti, 326; Brunton and Haig, Senators, 92-3; RPC, i, 111, 188.

185. Reg. Deeds, viii, fo. 158; RSS, v, no. 2314; vii, no. 1491.

The prebendaries of Alyth were local men. Robert Graham, a former master of Maisondieu in Brechin and collector of the chapter, was a canon until 1568 when he was replaced by James Graham, a later minister of the parish.¹⁸⁶ His brother was the well-known papist David Graham of Fintry.¹⁸⁷ Another local man, William Bannerman, held the prebend for a short time in 1566.¹⁸⁸ Archibald Lindsay, the prebendary of Caputh, also held the prebend of Insh and *Kingussie in Moray*.¹⁸⁹ He was also a chaplain of Forgandenny and factor to the chancellor, William Gordon.¹⁹⁰ The prebend was usually appropriated to the treasurer and Lindsay seems to have held it concurrently with Stephen Culross.¹⁹¹ William Chisholm, the prebendary of Craigie, was also rector of Glendevon, in the diocese of Dunblane.¹⁹² He was perhaps the nephew of Bishop Chisholm of Dunblane (1526-64) and later succeeded to the see himself in 1561.¹⁹³ He was replaced as prebendary by Gilbert Bannerman a relative of the prebendary of Alyth.¹⁹⁴ There is little indication of Bannerman's religion or politics, however his procurator, Alexander Skene, was a staunch Roman catholic.¹⁹⁵ The prebend remained within the Bannerman family and was later held by Adam and William.¹⁹⁶

186. Fraser, *Grandtully*, i, 83; *TB*, 101; *RSS*, v, no. 3144; Scott, *Fasti*, v, 249; McFarlane, *Geog. Coll.*, i, 114.

187. *RPC*, iv, 249n.

188. *RSS*, v, no. 3144.

189. *RSS*, vi, no. 1422; *Registrum Episcopatus Moraviensis* (Bannatyne Club, 1837), xxiv.

190. *Dunk, Rent.*, 347, 349.

191. Watt, *Fasti*, 115.

192. *RSS*, iii, no. 739; v, no. 1513.

193. Watt, *Fasti*, 78.

194. *Dunk, Rent.*, 349; *RSS*, v, no. 1513; *RMS*, iv, no. 1805, no. 542.

195. *RPC*, i, 323-4; Lynch, *Edinburgh*, 181, 190.

196. *RSS*, v, no. 3144.

George Cook, who belonged to an Edinburgh burgess family, was prebendary of Crieff in 1539 and retained the prebend until his death in 1574.¹⁹⁷ He was also chaplain of Lady Altar and Holyrood in Dunkeld and dean of Linlithgow and Haddington.¹⁹⁸ Cook, who had been secretary to Archbishop James Beaton and his nephew David, was later scribe to the Privy Seal.¹⁹⁹ He is well-known for his candid opinion of the female gender inscribed in the sixteenth volume of the Privy Seal. Cook also held other benefices in Perth, Muirhouse, Tealing, Cowty and Corstorphine Collegiate Church.²⁰⁰ Other kinsmen of the Beatons included Abraham Crichton, who acted as their legal representative, and Robert Auchmouty, the prebendary of Ruffil and granitar in St. Andrews.²⁰¹

The prebends of Ferdischaw and Logiebride were held by James Lauder and Michael Balfour. Neither was usually resident as Lauder was dean of Restalrig and Balfour commendator of Melrose.²⁰² Balfour, along with other members of the chapter, including dean James Hepburn, was a kinsman of the earl of Bothwell.²⁰³ Patrick Muir, the prebendary of Ferne, held the post prior to the Reformation until sometime after 1584.²⁰⁴ He was a former clerk of Glasgow and his appointment may have been at the instigation of John Stevenson,

197. RMS, iii, no. 2170; RSS, vi, no. 2465.

198. Watt, Fasti, 320-1.

199. Sanderson, Cardinal of Scotland, 97-8; RSS, ii, no. 771; iii, nos. 128, 1339.

200. GRH Chrs., no. 1623; RMS, v, no. 2821; RSS, iii, no. 2573.

201. RSS, iii, no. 2475; iv, no. 517; vi, no. 1203.

202. Watt, Fasti, 370; TB, 111, 163, 286.

203. Reg. Supp., 2721, fo. 173v.

204. RSS, vi, no. 976; Assump. 340, 359v; SRO Fraser Chrs. GD 86 no. 268.

senior, the chanter of Dunkeld, whose son was chanter of Glasgow and a prebendary of Muckersie.²⁰⁵ John Leslie, the prebendary of Forgandenny, was another of the few canons to conform and serve in the reformed church.²⁰⁶ He was born in Dunkeld in 1524 and was a chaplain of All Saints and also perhaps a chaplain in the diocese of Moray.²⁰⁷ In 1574 he was reader at Kilmaveonaig in the most northern part of the diocese of Dunkeld.²⁰⁸ Thereafter the prebend passed into the hands of the Herings of Glasclune.²⁰⁹ James Hering was also provost of Methven and during the 1570s pursued a chequered career.²¹⁰ After being accused of non-residence and deprived of the fruits of his benefices he was recruited as a deputy to Robert Hay to reconcile protestants to catholicism. Three years later he was a member of the General Assembly.²¹¹

At the Reformation Fungarth was at the centre of a dispute between Thomas McGill and James Thornton. Despite the fact that Thornton had obtained a declaratory sentence against McGill he was the unsuccessful litigant, as in 1574 the prebend was made vacant by McGill's demission. Thornton had been unsuccessful even though he was a staunch Roman Catholic and a servant of Queen Mary and Archibald Beaton.²¹² McGill's successor was a relation, David,

205. Reg. Lat., 1818, fos. 110v-112v.

206. Assump. 304; Dunk. Rent., 350.

207. Dunk. Rent., 330; Reg. Supp., 3033 fos. 53v, 54r.

208. Wod. Misc., 356.

209. Glasclune lies 2 miles northwest of Blairgowrie.

210. RSS, v, no. 3178; vi, no. 2123; Reg. Supp. 3032, fo. 168r-v.

211. Anderson, W.J., 'Narratives of the Scottish Reformation', IR, vii (1956), pt. 2, 118; Scott, Fasti, iv, 221.

212. RSS, vi, no. 775; Papal Negs., 195.

who served as the queen's advocate while Robert Crichton of Eliok was ill.²¹³

The McNairs were a family with a close association with Dunkeld, three members of the family holding benefices during the Reformation period. In 1560 Robert McNair was the prebendary of Inchmagrannoch, otherwise known as Lagganallochie, and resigned in 1565 in favour of his son.²¹⁴

Duncan McNair, the treasurer of Dunkeld in 1573, had been vicar-pensioner of Lagganallochie in 1544.²¹⁵

Alexander Crichton held the prebends of Craigie and Lundeiff and was one of the priests who celebrated the mass with his kinsman the bishop.²¹⁶

He was prosecuted in 1567 and again in 1572.²¹⁷

His successor, Thomas Cruikshank, the minister at Alyth was one of the many reformed church clergy infiltrated into the chapter by superintendent Winram.²¹⁸

James Hamilton, the prebendary of Menmuir since the early 1550s, *demitted office* in 1566 in favour of John Lindsay, the son of David, Earl of Crawford, in order that Lindsay could study at a catholic university.²¹⁹

Lindsay was appointed to the prebend by commissioners for Robert Crichton on condition that he study divine letters and humanities at a catholic university until he was 21. Between 1567 and 1569 he was educated at Paris and Cambridge Universities along with David Lindsay of Glenesk, his younger brother Walter and David Borthwick, under the

213. Melville, Diary, 135; Pitcairn, Trials, i, 101.

214. RSS, v, no. 2246.

215. RSS, iii, no. 864.

216. RSS, v, no. 1660; Haws, Scottish Parish Clergy, 172.

217. Pitcairn, Trials, i, pt. 2, 38; BUK, iii, 802.

218. NLS Adv. mss. 17.1.3 fo. 369.

219. PB Grote, no. 276.

tutorship of James Lawson.²²⁰ Lindsay was later a distinguished servant of the crown, serving as a senator of the College of Justice, as an ambassador and as Lord Privy Seal.²²¹

The prebendaries of Moneydie are less easily identifiable. Michael Walker was prebendary sometime prior to 1540 until his resignation in 1566.²²² William Struthers and Thomas Gilbert were later prebendaries of the benefice; but there is little indication of their backgrounds. Struthers may have been an Edinburgh Blackfriar or a Glasgow reader.²²³ In 1568 he raised an action against the minister of the parish, Thomas McGibbon, challenging him to produce his provision to the prebend.²²⁴ The Stevensons were another family with close connections with Dunkeld. John Stevenson, chanter at Glasgow (1554-64) was prebendary of Muckersie.²²⁵ His father, who had been a canon of Dunkeld in the early sixteenth century, was also a musician and had excelled in 'music and in the playing of organs'.²²⁶ Stevenson junior had also served at the Consistorial Court at Rome and later as a senator of the College of Justice.²²⁷ His successor was the Blackfriar Andrew Abercrombie, who was of the

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220. J.R.L. Crawford mss 3/2/4, 5, 12.
 221. Brunton and Haig, Senators, 177-9; Hist. King James VI, 364.
 222. Fraser, Grandtully, i, 83; GRH Chrs., no 1905.
 223. SRO Elibank Writs GD 32/8/11-12; Milne, R., The Blackfriars of Perth (Edinburgh, 1893), 64 [hereafter Milne, Perth Blackfriars].
 224. Connell, J., A Treatise on the Law of Scotland respecting Tithes and the Stipends of the Parochial Clergy (Edinburgh, 1815), i, 203.
 225. TB, 87; 147; RSS, v, no. 1638; Assump., 315.
 226. Dunk. Rent., 329.
 227. RSS., iii, no. 2226, 2238; Brunton and Haig, Senators, 96.

catholic family of Murthly, near Dunkeld.²²⁸ Robert Auchmouty, the prebendary of Ruffil, was a canon as early as 1549 and held the prebend intermittently until his resignation in 1570.²²⁹ Auchmouty was another extensive pluralist holding at various stages the vicarages of Arbroath, Forteviot, Stirling and Dun, as well as being steward of the royal household and master almoner.²³⁰ His successor John Douglas, had been the scribe of the Dunkeld Rentale and chamberlain of Dunkeld in 1570.²³¹

It is unclear how many chaplains served at Dunkeld. There were perhaps as many as nineteen altars in Dunkeld and a further ten endowed outwith the cathedral. These were located at Clunie, Crieff, Dundee, Edinburgh, Forgandenny, Fungarth, Inver and Perth. In 1561 there were at least sixteen chaplains and perhaps as many as twenty-three. Many of these chaplains were involved with Robert Crichton in the saying of masses in Dunkeld and Edinburgh. John Beaton or Barton later became dean of the chapter and remained a catholic throughout his career.²³² John Cairney was a local man, probably of the Cardney family, which had close associations with the cathedral.²³³ Thomas Irvine and David Morrison, the chaplains of St. Peters and of the Blessed Virgin Mary at Inver respectively, remained chaplains until the 1580s. Irvine conformed to serve as the reader at Meigle and Blair Atholl, but there is no record of

228. RSS, v, nos. 1638, 2899; TB, 247.

229. RSS, iv, no. 577; vi, no. 1203.

230. Ibid., iv, no. 222n; RMS, v, no. 1206; GRH Chrs., no. 1505; TB, 236.

231. Dunk. Rent., 344, 353.

232. RMS, v, no. 1138; Watt, Fasti, 105.

233. RMS, v, no. 1138.

Morrison doing so.²³⁴ Robert Vallange was chaplain in Dunkeld and Edinburgh, having perhaps originated from the parish of Rosyth.²³⁵ John Elder, another recusant priest, was vicar of Dunkeld and chaplain of St. Annes and Holyblood.²³⁶ He had also been a curate at Invergowrie, near Dundee.²³⁷ In 1563 a John Elder was involved in the saying of masses in south-west Scotland and there was another man of the same name who was tutor to Lord Darnley, Abbot Walter Reid and the King of France.²³⁸ This John Elder was a dean of Trinity College and was reputedly a highlander using the alias John Redshank.²³⁹ Crichton's chaplains at his residence on Loch Clunie, David Henry and Henry Mow, were also involved in celebrations of the mass. Henry was also chaplain of St. Ninians, in Alyth parish church and of St. Martins in Edinburgh.²⁴⁰ Mow was a prebendary of St. Giles and a former provost of Methven.²⁴¹ Through his links with Holyrood Abbey Mow was in close contact with various catholic activists in Edinburgh, including Herbert Maxwell.²⁴² Walter Robertson or Downy from Meigle was chaplain at Hailes Castle and Preston, as well as at Dunkeld.²⁴³ In 1551 he was chaplain to the earl of Bothwell and in 1563 attended him at Norham prior to his

234. CA Rent Bk., ii, 67-8; Reg. Pres., ii, fo. 64v; TB, 255; Wod. Misc., 354; Reg. Min., 77; Atholl and Tullibardine, v, p.clxi.

235. RMS, v, no. 1138; PB Grote, no. 211.

236. RSS, vi, no. 1220.

237. PB Gray, 6; Milne, Perth Blackfriars, 214-5.

238. Dictionary of National Biography, vi, 588-9; Pitcairn, Trials, i, pt. 1, 427.

239. Assump. 362v; RSS, vii, no. 1698.

240. RSS, v, no. 3036.

241. SRO Airlie Mun. GD 16 sec. 5 no. 15; RSS, v, no. 2005.

242. RMS, v, no. 1242.

243. PB Rollok, no. 94.

departure to France.²⁴⁴ Robertson was also a notary in Dunkeld and a vicar of Aberdour. He was thought to have died in 1570 but re-appeared three years later at Logierait charged with performing a funeral service in the 'popish manner'.²⁴⁵ Four other chaplains were vicars-choral, who shared the fruits of the church of Abernyte.²⁴⁶ William Stewart, 'chorist of the quire', was probably a pre-Reformation chaplain and also held the parsonage of Lude.²⁴⁷ Thomas Muirhead was a chaplain as early as 1540 and held his quarter until his remission in 1565-6.²⁴⁸ James Sanderson and Alexander Montrose held the remaining two quarters. Sanderson was still a portioner in 1580 as well as being reader at Alyth and Ruthven.²⁴⁹ Michael Greg, a later portioner and reader at Dunkeld, was a pre-Reformation chaplain, who in 1573 was tried for non-residence and 'allegance touching the smelling of papistry'.²⁵⁰ The chaplains of St Katherines and the Blessed Virgin Mary at Forgandenny included Robert Ostlair, Alexander Ruthven and George Wawane. Ostlair, who was also chaplain of Halyburton, saw military service under Cassillis and Ruthven and was later a servant of the latter.²⁵¹ Alexander Ruthven was also a kinsman of Lord Ruthven and had been implicated in the murder of Riccio.²⁵² Wawane was a canon of Dunblane and

244. Scott, Fasti, v, 405.

245. BUK, i, 287.

246. Dunk. Rent., 337.

247. SRO Dalguise Mun. sec. 1 no. 64; Assump. 296; RMS, v, no. 1138; RSS, vi, no. 1624.

248. Assump., 296.

249. Ibid., 296;

250. BUK, i, 287.

251. RPC, i, 136; RSS., iv, no. 1580; TB, 255.

252. RSS., v, no. 2778.

another kinsman of the Ruthvens.²⁵³

There is little record of the lay staff of the cathedral except for some of the more important offices. James Crichton was chamberlain from 1555 until sometime prior to 1570, when the post was held by a canon, John Douglas.²⁵⁴ Herbert Maxwell, a leading Edinburgh burghess, was Robert Crichton's baillie in Edinburgh.²⁵⁵ He had been a burghess since 1538 and was a member of the Seton Council of 1559-60. His other posts included farmer of the Common Mill and General of the Mint.²⁵⁶ In 1571 he was head of Edinburgh's Marian faction and was imprisoned, along with Bishop Crichton, for his opposition to the crown. He was forfeited in the same year, but in 1574 submitted to the Kirk.²⁵⁷ David Bennet was appointed as beadle prior to 1558 and was later made 'beddell for life'.²⁵⁸ Robert Boyd, who in 1559 was responsible for the 'geir of Perth' held at Clunie, was a servant of Robert Crichton and in 1573 was called to compear with the former bishop before the regent.²⁵⁹ In 1581 Boyd was the servant of Patrick Muir, the prebendary of Ferne.²⁶⁰ In 1565 George Horne was another of Crichton's servants and was later employed by Bishop Peter Rollok.²⁶¹ During his forfeiture Robert

253. Watt, Fasti, 90.

254. Dunk. Rent., 352-363.

255. PB Grote, no. 265.

256. Knox, History, i, 67; RSS, v, no. 2070; Calderwood, History, i, 346; TA, xi, 259.

257. Diurnal, 235; CSP Scot., iii, no. 898; Calderwood, History, iii, 117.,

258. SRO Robertson of Lude Mun. GD 132/18; RMS, v, no. 211.

259. Dunk. Rent., 356; TA, xii, 380.

260. RMS, v, no. 1208.

261. RMS, iii, no. 2495; iv, no. 1293.

Crichton was served by a kinsman David Crichton, vicar of Clunie and Auchtertool, who had been his steward and servant since 1564.²⁶²

From the accounts and rentals of the cathedral it is apparent that Crichton employed many other kinsmen and gave patronage to many known to be opposed to the Reformation. 'Dene' John Harvey, a monk of Newbattle, was one of those involved with Robert Crichton, as was William Murdoch, a native of Dunkeld and a later Jesuit.²⁶³ Thomas Aitken and Robert Veitch, both Franciscan friars, also found protection under Crichton at Clunie. Aitken was deleted in 1572 for celebrating the mass, but Veitch spent much of the 1570s and 1580s with a Father Leitch, preaching around Dunkeld and elsewhere in Scotland.²⁶⁴ The Jesuit Robert Abercrombie reported in 1580 that 'I know only two of those religious who constantly go about the kingdom, saying mass, now in one place, now in another; they are often in my father's house, sometimes together, sometime separately, but at Easter he has one of them. One is called Robert Veitch, the other N. Leitch, both good scholars, skilled in the Bible, Fathers and Councils, good preachers; they are Franciscans, dressed in lay clothes they do good work'.²⁶⁵ Veitch, a 'sumtym guardian of the grayfreiris in Stirling', was a member of Crichton's household throughout the 1560s and early 1570s. In 1583 he was excommunicated for failure to compear before the Synod of Stirling to give 'ane confessioun of his fayth and religion' and to be disciplined for

263. RSS, iii, no. 927.

264. Moir-Bryce, W., the Scottish Greyfriars (Edinburgh, 1909), ii 474; Pitcairn, Trials, i, pt. 2, 35; PSAS, ii, 108.

265. Anderson, W.J., 'Narratives of the Scottish Reformation', 32.

former abuses.²⁶⁶ On Crichton's restoration Veitch rejoined the bishop's household and in 1584 was a signatory of deeds granted by the chapter.²⁶⁷ His colleague, Father Leitch, was a subprior of the Edinburgh Blackfriars and had connections with the Blackfriar Andrew Abercrombie of Murthly.²⁶⁸ In 1578, both he and Robert Veitch, were deputies to Robert Hay, appointed to reconcile protestants to catholicism.²⁶⁹ In 1585 he seemingly repented but remained 'to haunt' the household of the Master of Gray with two of Lady Atholl's priests and another priest, Sir Thomas Gray.²⁷⁰

As well as this very apparent catholic faction there existed at Dunkeld what might be termed an 'Edinburgh connection'. This link with the capital provides an interesting insight into the composition of Crichton's catholic support as amongst those clergy with Edinburgh links was a large number of conservatives. During the 1560s there existed in Edinburgh 'a still strong catholic opinion'.²⁷¹

Dunkeld's association with Edinburgh pre-dated Crichton's term of office as provost of St. Giles, the earliest links being through the Lothian parishes of Abercorn, Aberlady and Cramond. The cathedral's connection with St. Giles was very strong and all three provosts between 1503 and 1557 were, or went on to be, Dunkeld clergymen. Gavin Douglas (1503-15) became bishop of Dunkeld, as did Robert

266. Stirling Presb. Recs., 176.

267. SRO Airlie Mun. GD 16 sec 48 no. 35.

268. SRO EBR Canongate PB John MacNeill, iii, (B 22/22/23) fo. 112; ECA Invent. Doc. re church lands no. 8.

269. Anderson, W.J., 'Narratives of the Scottish Reformation', 118.

270. Calderwood, History, iv, 399.

271. McRoberts, Scottish Reformation, 387-8.

Crichton (1517-54).²⁷² Crichton's successor, Alexander Campbell (1554-7), was a clerk of the diocese, and in 1544, on the provision of John Hamilton to the see, was assigned a pension of 1000 pounds Scots.²⁷³ Another leading pre-Reformation churchman, dean Alexander Myln, had close links with Edinburgh in his capacity as a senator of the College of Justice in 1532 and as manager of Holyrood Abbey in 1540.²⁷⁴ As a member of parliament the bishop required an Edinburgh residence and seems to have spent considerable time in the burgh.²⁷⁵

Amongst the cathedral and parish clergy were many who had served Crichton prior to his promotion to the episcopacy or with whose families he had close links. These kinsmen included the Crichtons of Drilaw, Newhall and Innerwick. Three of the cathedral dignitaries had links with Edinburgh: John Barton, William Curll and William Adamson were all from Edinburgh families. Adamson had served as a chaplain in the city prior to the Reformation.²⁷⁶ Five canons, Abraham Crichton (Aberlady), Patrick Muir (Ferne), David McGill (Fungarth), William Struthers (Moneydie) and John Stevenson (Muckersie), had links with the city as did at least five chaplains, David Henry, William Marshall, Henry Mow, Walter Robertson and Robert Vallange. Amongst the non-serving beneficed clergy two men, John Linlithgow (Abercorn) and James Denmeston (Ardeonaig), were Edinburgh

272. Watt, Fasti, 357,

273. Ibid., 357; Dowden, Bishops, 89.

274. Anderson, P.D., Robert Stewart, Earl of Orkney, Lord of Shetland, 1533-93 (Edinburgh, 1982), 6.

275. Chambers, R., Traditions of Edinburgh, revised edition (Edinburgh, 1980), 223, 240-1.

276. PB Foular, nos. 192, 229, 344.

chaplains.²⁷⁷ Linlithgow was a later prebendary of Trinity College and Denneiston provost of Linlithgow and chamberlain of Holyrood.²⁷⁸ This influx of clergymen from Edinburgh, and from other parts of Scotland, would suggest that Crichton actively encouraged clerics to join him in Dunkeld, where he seems to have been able to guarantee a certain amount of immunity from prosecution. Amongst the post-Reformation clergy the Edinburgh link is less apparent. It is known that there was considerable mobility amongst the new reformed church clergy, some of whom arrived at Dunkeld parishes from Edinburgh, via St. Andrews University.

(d) The Decline of the Diocese of Dunkeld

The secular encroachment of temporal affairs had occupied the bishops of Dunkeld since the fifteenth century. Bishop Thomas Lauder (1452-75) had to be vigorous 'because the church had always been disturbed by the inroads of secular personis ...[and] he most energetically defended the possessions which pertained to his own episcopal table or belonged to the canons and chaplains'.²⁷⁹ The wealth of the cathedral and the political power attached to the office of bishop made it a target for the local nobility and for many years Dunkeld was at the centre of a dispute between the earls of Atholl and Argyll.²⁸⁰ During the course of the sixteenth century

277. RMS, iii, no. 170; PB Foular, nos. 26, 89, 170-1, 429, 492; RSS, iii, no. 2458; v, no. 3036; PB Grote, no. 211.

278. RSS, vii, no. 20; Wod. Misc., 570; RMS, v, nos. 573, 987, 304, 1917.

279. Dunk. Rent., 305.

280. Keith, Bishops, 97.

the earls of Angus and Arran also became involved. In 1566-7 schemes were devised for the disposal of the bishoprics of Dunkeld and Moray, in anticipation of a vacancy arising to crown nominees.²⁸¹ During the early years of the Reformation Robert Crichton continued to enjoy the muted support of Atholl. However with his forfeiture in 1571 the fruits and temporalities of the diocese passed to Argyll, who as chancellor in 1573 was granted the chamberlaincy of the bishop's lands.²⁸²

Following Crichton's forfeiture in 1571 the kirk made a concerted effort to replace the cathedral dignitaries, re-organise the chapter and appoint new canons for the election of a more suitable bishop. A similar re-organisation was implemented at St. Andrews in 1572, initially involving twelve conformed members of the old chapter.²⁸³ At Dunkeld three dignitaries were replaced between 1571 and 1573. William Curll, the precentor, and William Gordon, the chancellor, were well-known catholics regularly involved in recusant activity.²⁸⁴ The third dignitary^{who was} ~~deposed~~ was the treasurer Robert Abercrombie, who had been a Jesuit on the continent since the early 1560s.²⁸⁵ The four remaining dignitaries retained their positions, despite in two cases, their continued catholic connections. John Barton, the dean, who as a chaplain had regularly celebrated the mass with Robert Crichton, may have tacitly accepted the reformed faith. His ministering of six parishes north of Dunkeld was shortlived as

281. RSS, v, nos. 2806, 3099, 3100, 3533.

282. RPC, ii, 172; RSS, vi, nos. 1421, 1820; HMC Argyll, 486.

283. Watt, Fasti, 502.

284. RSS, v, nos. 1450, 2113; vi, no. 1346; Watt, Fasti, 109, 112.

285. Watt, Fasti, 115.

he was accused of non-residence within a few years of being appointed.²⁸⁶ In 1584 Barton was noted as still being a catholic despite his overtures to the kirk.²⁸⁷ Andrew Abercrombie, the subchanter was a kinsman of Abercrombie of Murthly, a well-known supporter of papists. The identity of this man is unclear, but he would appear not to be the Blackfriar of the same name at the horn in 1569.²⁸⁸ Richard Haldane, the subdean, and David Spens, the archdeacon, were from protestant families and, whatever their private beliefs, would have been under pressure to conform.

The exact date of the re-organisation by Superintendent Winram is not known, but occurred sometime between September 1571 and October 1572, in 'the time of Jo. Earl Mar', as regent.²⁸⁹ The document detailing the arrangements relates that:

'The cheptour consist of auld in xxii channonreis or prebenderies fundat on distinct and seuerall benefices ... of the present possessoris of thir benefices only thre are entered in the Ministrie quhilks sal be of the chaptour for electioun of the bischope. And also how sone the remanent present possessoris departis this lyff. The benefices alwayis to be disponit to qualifeit persons that sall enter in the function of the Ministrie and thai to be of the chaptour.

It is to be considerit that the Dyocie of dunkeld lyis nochtcontingue bot the kirkis thairof ar seperat in sundry partis of the realm and also in dyuerss kirkis of the said diocie thair is non ministeris yit plantit. Thairfor to

286. BUK, i, 336.

287. Laing, D., Original Letters of Mr John Colville, 1582-1603 (Bannatyne Club, 1858), 83-4.

288. Andrew Abercrombie, the Blackfriar, died prior to Jan. 1573, RSS, v, no. 2653; vi, 1829. Andrew Abercrombie of Pettlepy, servant to the 5th Earl of Atholl, owned a manse in Dunkeld, RMS, v, no. 70. Andrew Abercrombie, subchanter Dunkeld 1565-91, Watt, Fasti, 118.

289. NLS Adv. mss 17.1.3 fo. 369.

supplie the present necessitie hac vice sum ministeris of utheris kirkis nixtadiacent howbeit nocht in the same diocie of dunkeld ar appoyntit to be of the cheptour for electioun of the present bischope'.(290)

The three protestant ministers already canons were the chancellor, William Edmonstone (Cargill) and Thomas McGibbon (Moneydie) and James Lauder (Ferdischaw). A further twelve reformed clergy from within, and outwith, the diocese were added. Those appointed from within the diocese were Peter Blackwood (Saline), Thomas Cruikshank (Alyth), Alexander Tyrie (Meigle), William Lauder (Forgandenny), William Drummond (Crieff), William Cornwall (Cramond) and Peter Watson (Leslie) and from outwith John Row (Perth), Alexander Young (Methven), William Rynd (Kinnoull), John Hammill (Dunning) and an unidentified minister of Blairgowrie, who was perhaps the aforementioned Thomas Cruikshank.²⁹¹ Despite these careful efforts to ensure the election of the new bishop, Crichton's successor, James Paton, was not a suitable choice. The new canons may in fact have had little say in Paton's election, which was at the instigation of the Earl of Argyll.

Paton belonged to the family of Balilisk in Kinross. He graduated from St. Andrews University in the 1540s and after the Reformation served as the minister at Muckart.²⁹² In 1565 he was excommunicated for non-residence, a charge which was to be levelled against him on numerous occasions.²⁹³ Throughout his whole term of office Paton repeatedly fell foul of the General Assembly, not least

290. NLS Adv. mss 17.1.3 fos. 367, 369.

291. Ibid.

292. AFA, ii, 396; TB, 251; Reg. Min., 26.

293. BUK, i, 331.

for the method by which he obtained provision to the see. His presentation to Dunkeld was in the form of a gift from the Earl of Argyll, who obtained the bishopric for him in return for the lands of Muckartmill and a share of the tithes.²⁹⁴ One of Argyll's motives for acquiring these lands was seemingly in order to harass the Douglas family, from whom the property had originally been purchased.²⁹⁵ Paton received the crown nomination in September 1571 and the election was confirmed in July 1572.²⁹⁶ Ironically his appointment coincided with a government admission that unsuitable candidates were being promoted to the episcopate.²⁹⁷ Having repaid his minister's stipend for 1572 Paton was granted the temporalities of the bishopric in the following year.²⁹⁸

Within a year Paton had been deposed for not exercising the proper functions of his office; the main charges against him being the simoniacal pact with Argyll and his failure to proceed against local papists, especially John Stewart, earl of Atholl.²⁹⁹ Relating to the first charge Paton claimed that Argyll had besieged his house and kidnapped his son to force him to enter into the pact.³⁰⁰ In 1573 an investigation of Paton by the General Assembly revealed that 'he had received the name of a bishop but they [the General Assembly] had not heard that he had used the name within his bounds'. Paton argued that he 'had lately received that Bishopric and that there

294. Reg. Pres., i, fo. 61v.

295. Keith, Bishops, 97.

296. RSS, vi, nos. 2812, 1486, 1672; Reg. Pres., i, fo. 78.

297. RSS, vi, nos. 2810-2.

298. AFA, ii, 396; Reg. Min., 26; TB, 251; RSS, vi, no. 1943.

299. BUK, i, 332.

300. Calderwood, History, iii, 288.

was a superintendent continuing in that bounds till the Assembly'.³⁰¹ The authorities seem to have been most concerned with the activities of the papists and ordered Paton to act against them regardless 'of what degree so ever they be'.³⁰² The order obviously had little effect as Paton continually had to be admonished for failing to deal with the earl. Paton claimed that Atholl wanted advice to remove his doubts and that he was soon to be resolved in various points of religion.³⁰³ He was also rebuked for a number of other offences, including failure to appoint clergy to vacant parishes, non-payment of stipends and the general diminution of the rents of the bishopric.³⁰⁴ In 1578 attempts were made to excommunicate him and during the course of these proceedings he was also accused of treasonable dealings with Huntly and Argyll.³⁰⁵ In 1580-1 the privy council decided that, as he had no function within the reformed church, he should not enjoy the patrimony of the bishopric and should provide for the relief of the impoverished Robert Crichton.³⁰⁶ In 1582 the excommunication proceedings seem to have been completed and by 1584 Crichton had been fully restored to office. Thereafter little is known about Paton until his death in 1596.³⁰⁷ Crichton's successors were not men of note. Peter Rollock was bishop from 1585 until 1607, but in 1603 accompanied James VI to England, where he

301. BUK, i, 270.

302. Ibid, i, 283.

303. Ibid., i, 314, 343.

304. Ibid., i, 318, 350; RPC, ii, 363-4.

305. BUK, ii, 424, 454; Scott, Fasti, v, 67.

306. RPC, ii, 356-8.

307. Keith, Bishops, 97.

became naturalised.³⁰⁸ James Nicholson was probably one of the more able men appointed to Dunkeld during the post-Reformation period, however his tenure of office lasted only five months. He was a former minister of Cortachy and Meigle and a moderator of the General Assembly. His defection to episcopacy was a blow to the presbyterians. John Dykes, a former minister of Crombie, wrote to James Melville in 1607: 'the devill reigned never more in flesh nor in Mr James Nicholsons, granter imprudens, a horrible example of apostasie'. It was said that Nicholson died a troubled man as 'he had put a mitre on his head'.³⁰⁹

A contributory factor in the cathedral's decline was feuing, a financial expedient devised to meet the rising cost of living. In reality it proved unproductive as while the value of land rose the value of money fell. Despite this obvious economic fault little was done to restrict the practice. Feuing was never regulated except for a vague provision that rents should not be de-valued. During the fifteenth century the provincial councils continually denounced the act of parliament 'anent feu-ferme'. In 1549 the granting in feu-farm of a glebe was forbidden and feus of church lands granted after 1558-9 were declared illegal.³¹⁰ Many churchmen, however, continued to feu land in order to meet the impending financial crisis. Much of their policy was dictated by local affairs and Anglo-Scottish relations, as well as the rise of Protestantism.

308. Watt, Fasti, 100; Keith, Bishops, 97-8.

309. Watt, Fasti, 101; Scott, Fasti, v, 270, 279; BUK, iii, 983, 1035, 1037; Calderwood, History, vi, 647, 666.

310. Patrick, Statutes, 97.

During the crisis of 1559-60 many churchmen feued land for quick profit 'to any persoun thai plesit without respect of preceiding order, in sic caissis quair upon greit hurt apperit to succed'.³¹¹ Feu charters were also granted as a means of obtaining or maintaining political support, as is apparent from many of those granted by Robert Crichton.

Prior to the Reformation, when Crichton's position was more secure, both politically and financially, he granted only two feus; the mains of Aberlady and two small crofts in Dunkeld.³¹² Despite the difficulties in collecting rents he granted a further twelve charters before the end of 1561. In one of these Crichton referred to ungrateful and disobedient tenants, who it has been asserted were expressing some kind of opposition to the bishop's continued catholicism. Too much should not be made of this reluctance to pay church dues as it was a common state of affairs elsewhere.³¹³

Although land was feued for wider political reasons a large amount was granted to occupant tenants and of the thirteen charters granted by Crichton in 1584 the majority were to sitting tenants. In terms of the amount of land feued to sitting tenants Dunkeld corresponded with other parts of Scotland.³¹⁴ Other religious houses in central Scotland, such as Balmerino and Lindores, were similar to Dunkeld feuing between 40% and 70% of their lands, while Dunblane feued

311. RPC, ii, 643.

312. RFC, ii, fo. 234.

313. RMS, iv, nos. 2108, 2493, 2719; v, no. 1261.

314. Sanderson, M.B.H., Scottish Rural Society in the Sixteenth Society (Edinburgh, 1982), 89 [hereafter Sanderson, Scottish Rural Society].

less than 40% and Scone more than 70%.³¹⁵

A prime example of the feuing of church land for political and financial reasons was the deal struck between Bishop Robert Crichton and Robert Crichton of Eliok, the lord advocate. Crichton of Eliok was the brother of Bishop George Crichton, who had originally conveyed the lands of Clunie, near Dunkeld, to the lord advocate.³¹⁶ Another contract conveying the lands of Drummellie, as well as Clunie, was drawn up between Robert Crichton and Crichton of Eliok in January 1558 and was confirmed by a charter and sasine in July 1562. Included within the contract was a reversion should the lord advocate fail to maintain the expected loyalty to the queen and the church, and in particular the bishopric of Dunkeld.³¹⁷ In January 1566 Bishop Crichton referred to the moral and financial support he had received from the lord advocate, which was of 'great and necessary assistance to him and on behalf of the liberty of the church'.³¹⁸ The lord advocate was also being employed at the time by Queen Mary to negotiate with those who were opposed to her marriage to Darnley. He was later to switch allegiances and join the King's Party.³¹⁹ On this occasion, Bishop Crichton, himself an experienced intriguer, was outmanoeuvred by the lord advocate, who successfully countered the bishop's legal attempts to regain control of his lands. Sometime

315. Sanderson, M.B.H., 'The Feuing of Ecclesiastical Property in the Sixteenth Century', in McNeill, P. and Nicholson, R., An Historical Atlas of Scotland c.400-c.1600, 82.

316. Tytler, P.F., The Life of the Admirable Crichton (Edinburgh, 1879), 8-9.

317. RFC, i, fo. 9; RMS, iv, no. 2495; SRO Airlie Mun. GD 16 sec 5 no. 15.

318. RMS, iv, no. 2495.

319. Brunton and Haig, Senators, 176-7.

prior to his forfeiture in 1571 Bishop Crichton tried to regain possession of Clunie, which had in the meantime been conveyed to the lord advocate's son, James, 'The Admirable Crichton'. The lord advocate, however, conducted a successful defence, based upon an undated paper: 'Memoriale toward Clunie for defence thereof against the Bond or Reversion made by me for renunciation thereof, and Robert Bishop of Dunkeld'. In June 1575 James, with the consent of his father, granted a procuratory for the resigned lands of Clunie to Crichton's successor, James Paton. The lord advocate, however, ensured that this conveyance did not prejudice the earlier contract made between his son and the bishop for the redemption of the barony, and especially the regression granted by Bishop Robert Crichton.³²⁰

Over half the charters granted by Crichton were to feuars, known to be catholics, Marians or kinsmen in some other way obligated to him. This is hardly surprising as considering the political climate, and despite financial necessities, Crichton would be unlikely to feu land to known opponents. Notable catholic feuars included John Stewart, earl of Atholl and Helen Bryson, the wife of George Hay, 7th earl of Erroll.³²¹ Amongst the other feuars were two Edinburgh burgesses, Herbert Maxwell and John Sym. Maxwell, as mentioned earlier, was head of the catholic faction in Edinburgh and was forfeited for treason in 1571. John Sym started his career as a queen's man and at one stage was recommended for a post on the Edinburgh Council by Mary herself. He later switched sides to the

320. SRO Airlie Mun. GD 16 sec. 52 no. 58; PSAS, ii, 108.

321. RMS, iv, no. 1654.

King's Party.³²² Five charters were granted to Crichtons: two to Crichton of Eliok, one to his son James, one to James Crichton, son of William Crichton of Drilaw and one to Andrew Crichton of Kirklandbank.³²³ Charters were also granted to John Barton, the dean of Dunkeld, David Bennet the cathedral beadle, Robert Boyd, Crichton's servant and to Alexander Balfour, the parson of Luncarty and a kinsman of Michael Balfour, the prebendary of Ferdischaw.³²⁴ One of Crichton's last charters was to John Graham, 3rd earl of Montrose.³²⁵ His grandfather, the second earl, had been one of Mary's earliest supporters. In 1561 he was the only peer to attend Mary's first mass after her return to Scotland. He died in 1571 and was succeeded by John, who had been a consistent supporter of the rival party having attended the king's coronation and fought with Moray at Langside. During the 1570s he had drifted away from Regent Morton and aligned himself with the Atholl-Argyll faction. In 1584 he was made Lord Treasurer of Scotland, the same year in which Crichton granted him a feu, perhaps in return for assistance in regaining the fruits of his bishopric.³²⁶

The bishopric of James Paton brought a quite different set of beneficiaries and clients, including Archibald Douglas of Kilspindie, a former provost of Edinburgh and the son of Archibald Douglas, 4th

322. RMS, iv, no. 2123; Lynch, Edinburgh, 112, 130-1, 308.

323. RFC, i, fos. 9, 192; RMS, iv, nos. 2495, 2871; SRO GD 16/12/166.

324. RFC, i, fo. 192; RMS, iv, no. 36.

325. Sanderson, Scottish Rural Society, 89; Montrose Writs, i, 107.

326. Cowan, S., The Lord Chancellors of Scotland (Edinburgh, 1911), ii, 165-6.

earl of Angus.³²⁷ There were, however, conservatives and other members of the Crichton faction amongst those to whom Paton granted charters. Alexander Abercrombie of that Ilk, the father of the former treasurer Robert and the catholic preacher Andrew, was a well-known catholic, as was Andrew Abercrombie of Pettlepy, who acted as a messenger for the Marian Party and was a servant of John Stewart, 5th earl of Atholl.³²⁸

Another factor in the financial decline of the chapter was the farming out of the revenues of the chaplainries. In 1567 a statute was passed allowing patrons of collegiate churches, altarages and chaplainries to grant the revenues to students.³²⁹ Two years later the General Assembly decided that the revenues should be assigned to colleges and the poor.³³⁰ Earlier in 1561 the crown had assumed control of the property of the common churches and in 1566 it was decided that their revenues should be appropriated to the ministry.³³¹ In 1570 the crown continued to claim benefices formerly held in common by the chantry priests of Dunkeld, which were now 'vakand be ressoun the singing of the saidis priestis ceassis'.³³² Following the decree of the previous year it claimed the benefices still pertained to the king's presentation 'becaus of the lait ordinance of the kirk anent the gift and disposition of sic small things'.

327. RMS, iv, no. 2318.

328. RMS, iv, no. 2719; v, no. 70.

329. APS, iii, 25.

330. RSS, vi, no. 955; BUK, i, 155.

331. Donaldson, Scottish Reformation, 154; RSS, vi, no. 207; BUK, i, 129, 261.

332. RSS, vi, no. 955.

Numerous grants of Dunkeld benefices and chaplainries were made following the Reformation. Many of them were monopolised by prominent local families. The Bannatynes of Newtyle had had links with the cathedral since prior to the Reformation. Laurence Tailliefeir, treasurer in 1540, was godfather to one of James Bannatyne's eight sons.³³³ Six of those sons received grants, mainly from the prebend of Rattray and the altar of St. Michael's, Crieff, which were used to finance their studies at St. Andrews University.³³⁴ The best known of the sons was George Bannatyne, the compiler of the Bannatyne Manuscript.³³⁵ In 1581-2 he was chaplain of St. Michael's, the revenues of which supplemented the income from his various business concerns.³³⁶ Another family to benefit was the Bannermans of Cardney, who held the prebend of Craigie and various chaplainries. Other recipients of grants to finance their studies were Matthew and William Hutton, William Glass, William Powrie, John Douglas and James Millar, who all attended St. Andrews during the 1570s.³³⁷ John Lindsay, the son of David, Earl of Crawford, was presented to the parsonage of Menmuir, to maintain himself at the catholic university of Paris, where he was tutored by James Lawson.³³⁸ Grants were also made to the sons of former and current members of the chapter. Archibald Paton, the son of bishop James Paton, was chaplain of St. Peters and Archibald Hepburn, the son of

333. Watt, Fasti, 114.

334. St. A. Recs., 248, 300, 304-5, 310-11.

335. The Bannatyne Manuscript, Writtin in tyme of pest, 1568 by George Bannatyne, ed. Ritchie, W.T. (STS, 1928).

336. RSS, viii, no. 712.

337. St. A. Recs., 297, 300, 303, 305, 309, 310-11.

338. RSS, v, no. 2946; PB Grote, no. 276.

the late dean, James Hepburn, was prebendary of Caputh.³³⁹ Arthur Hamilton, son of Gavin Hamilton, a former canon of Dunkeld, was chaplain of Holyblood.³⁴⁰ The crown also took the opportunity to reward loyal servants. In 1574 the prebend of Fungarth was presented to David McGill, son of the clerk-register, James McGill, and a few years later the altar of St. Peter's was given to Alexander Wylie, the son of John Wylie, writer to the Lord Chancellor.³⁴¹ In 1581 the common churches of Meigle and Auchterhouse were presented to George Halket, the conservator of Flanders and in 1584 to Patrick, Master of Gray.³⁴² In 1581/2 Alexander Hay, the son of the clerk-register of the same name, was made prebendary of Caputh, enabling him to study at Musselburgh Grammar School.³⁴³

The total number of grants made is not known, but it is safe to assume that all the cathedral's altars were either appropriated or allowed to lapse. Few chaplains who took possession before Crichton's forfeiture retained their altarages throughout their careers and likewise few conformed and served in the reformed church, which would have allowed them to retain their revenues.

The attempts to forfeit Crichton and to re-organise the chapter had disastrous long-term consequences for the diocese. The destruction was both material and, to a certain extent, spiritual. On 12 August 1560 Argyll, Lord James and Lord Ruthven had ordered the lairds of Airntully and Kinvaid 'to pas incontinent to the kyrk of

339. RSS., vii, no. 1579.

340. Ibid., vii, no. 1513.

341. Ibid., viii, no. 129.

342. Ibid., viii, nos. 571, 2414.

343. Ibid., viii, no. 616.

Dunkeld and tak down the faill images thereof and bring furth to the kyrk-zayrd, burn thaym oppinly. And siclyk cast down the altaris and the kyrk of all kynd of monuments of idolatyre'. The role of Airtully is unclear as in 1558 he was one of the bishop's cautioners.³⁴⁴ In 1567 John Stewart, 1st *laird* of Dalguise, was ordered by James Stewart, now Earl of Moray, to deface the images at Dunkeld Cathedral. These local lairds seem to have achieved some measure of success as in 1600 the choir required re-roofing. This work was generously undertaken by Stewart of Ladywell, but seems to have been insufficient as thirty years later a royal letter declared 'the cathedral kirk of Dunkeld is so ruynous that without a speedie course to be taken for repairing thereof scarce any monument of so good a work will remane'. The early parlous financial state of the diocese declined steadily after 1560. At the Reformation the revenues of the cathedral totalled £1500, however this sum was steadily dissipated over the next century. In 1689 the parish church of Dunkeld, which was situated within the cathedral, had to supplement the income of the incumbent bishop with a gift of £100 from the crown. Robert Bowes stated that Dunkeld was so divested of its revenues that its titular Peter Rollok (1585-1607) held his parliamentary seat by favour rather than by right.³⁴⁵ In 1607 the parish of Meigle was annexed to the bishopric on account of the 'exhausted estait of the bishoprick of Dunkeld by the late

344. Reg. Deeds, iii, fo. 409.

345. CSP Scot., xii, no. 302; Original Letters relating to the Ecclesiastical Affairs of Scotland (Bannatyne Club, 1851), i, 11.

possessouris thairof, whereby the same is presentlie nawayes able to mantane the present Titular or any of his successoris according to his rank, degree and place'.³⁴⁶ Despite these reports to the contrary a political diatribe written in 1638 stated that 'Dunkeld is rich in thesaure'.³⁴⁷

The decline of Dunkeld was the result of a combination of financial, political and ecclesiastical factors. The importance of the diminution of the cathedral's wealth is debatable. Dr. Sanderson questions the damaging effect of feuing, claiming that the practice had acquired an unnecessarily sinister reputation which cannot be seriously substantiated.³⁴⁸ The most important factors were the chapter's continued catholicism and the political moves implemented to ensure Crichton's forfeiture. The re-organisation of the chapter to ensure the non-appointment of catholics led to the provision of James Paton to the episcopate and the financial decline of the diocese.

346. APS, iv, 372.

347. 'Pasqual againt the Bishops' in A Book of Scottish Pasquils 1568-1715, ed. Maidment, J. (Edinburgh, 1868), 20-1.

348. Sanderson, Scottish Rural Society, 188-190; Sanderson, M.B.H., 'The Feuing of Ecclesiastical Property in the Sixteenth Century' in McNeill, P. and Nicholson, R., An Historical Atlas of Scotland c.400-c.1600, 81-3.

CHAPTER THREE

THE NOBLES AND LAIRDS AT THE REFORMATION(a) Politics, Society and the Church

Within the main body of the diocese of Dunkeld there were few nobles of national importance. In a report of 1570 James Beaton, archbishop of Glasgow and Queen Mary's agent in France, noted that 'in the shirefdome of Perth stewartries of Strathern and Monteith thair ar nocht mony greit barounis except Tilibardin and Glenurquhard'.¹ It is interesting to note that Beaton mentions two lairds, Murray of Tullibardine and Campbell of Glenorchy, confirmation of Killigrew's observation that 'the great noblemen's credit' decays.² The diocese in fact encompassed the power bases of a number of nobles, however their careers were somewhat chequered and none played a long term role in national politics. Local dependency formed the basis of a noble or laird's power, and while influence at court added an extra dimension to this power, it was highly unstable and usually short-term.

John Stewart, 4th earl of Atholl, was amongst the more important . In terms of national politics, ^{however, he} was largely ineffectual, despite being appointed chancellor in 1578. Strathearn was particularly well-populated with middling nobility and included the lands of the Lords Drummond, Haldane, Innermeath, Moncrieff, Oliphant, Ruthven, Tibbermore and Tullibardine. Several of these

1. Warrender Papers, i, 82.

2. CSP Scot., iv, no. 476.

lairds were involved in government, including William, 4th Lord Ruthven, who was treasurer in 1571 and leader of the ultra-protestant faction to the south of the Tay. His involvement in the Ruthven Raid and his attempts to regain political power led to his execution in 1584.³ His neighbour, Lawrence, 3rd Lord Oliphant, was also involved in government, but his rise to power was even more temporary and had waned by the mid-1560s. Further up the Earn valley David, 5th Lord Drummond preferred to remain aloof from the events of 1560 and showed little interest in national politics, reluctantly attending the Reformation Parliament in August of that year.

In some of the peripheral areas of this far-flung diocese more powerful nobles exerted considerable influence. James Douglas, 4th earl of Morton and regent of Scotland from 1572 to 1578, controlled the lowland Dunkeld parishes of Aberdour, Bunkle and Preston and possessed further lands in Perthshire.⁴ In Angus, David Lindsay, 10th earl of Crawford, was master of the parishes of Alyth, Meigle, Fern and Megginch. More scattered were the benefices and lands of the Hamiltons, which included patronage of the parishes of Rannoch and Menmuir and lands in Abercorn, Menmuir, Preston and Torrie.⁵ Archibald Campbell, 5th earl of Argyll, was impregnable within the Western Highlands and influential outwith. An account of the Scottish nobility during the minority of James VI, written in 1577 by Alexander Hay, the director of Chancery, stated that Argyll 'is

3. RSS, vi, no. 1191; Melville, Memoirs, 313-4; Moysie, Memoirs, 37.

4. Morton Reg., ii, 276-80.

5. Finnie, E., 'The House of Hamilton: Patronage, Politics and the Church in the Reformation Period', IR, xxxvi (1985), 26-8.

regall within himself'.⁶ His only lowland holding was the lands of Dollar, which included Castle Campbell. Argyll was granted several charters by the post-Reformation bishops of Dunkeld and in 1573 was appointed chamberlain of the cathedral.⁷ Through kin, such as Colin Campbell of Glenorchy and Katherine Campbell, countess of Crawford, Argyll was able to spread his influence much wider and his presence was felt throughout Breadalbane, Atholl, Lennox and Angus. Argyll was justice-general of Scotland and probably lieutenant of the Isles and 'to all intents and purposes ... was the crown's legal officer in the west'.⁸ His own lieutenant Campbell of Glenorchy, provided a link between Argyll's power base in the west and his eastern kinsmen.⁹ These included Donald Campbell of Coupar Angus, whose loyalty was such that 'it is surprising that ... the whole of the Coupar Angus estates did not simply pass into the hands of the aged abbot's relatives, cadets and branches of the powerful house of Argyll'.¹⁰

As in the case of Argyll the sphere of influence of a particular nobleman was often wide-ranging and was usually felt beyond the bounds of his own possessions. Despite this great local influence and national power effective control was often in the hands of lairds, such as Colin Campbell of Glenorchy, whose family dominated the large area of western Perthshire, known as Breadalbane. George Gordon, 5th earl of Huntly was baron of Fortingall from the

6. An Estimate of the Scottish Nobility during the Minority of James VI, ed. Rogers, C. (Grampian Club, 1873), 8.

7. HMC Argyll, 483, 486.

8. Dawson, J., 'The Fifth Earl of Argyll', SHR, lxvii (1988), 11.

9. SRO Breadalbane Mun. GD 112/1/128.

10. Sanderson, Scottish Rural Society, 93.

from the forfeiture of Neil Stewart of Garth in 1509 until his own forfeiture after the Battle of Corrichie in 1562. Despite his great power in north-east Scotland Huntly had very little influence around Fortingall, which was dominated by the Campbells of Glenorchy and Glenlyon. In 1562 Huntly forfeited Fortingall, Foss and Weem to John Stewart, 4th earl of Atholl, as part of the latter's judicial commission in Breadalbane.¹¹ Elsewhere Huntly exerted his influence more forcibly, as at Kinclaven where, in 1568, he encouraged the parishioners to harass the king's supporters in that parish.¹²

The role of many of these nobles and lairds in the Reformation crisis and in the long process of religious settlement which followed is difficult to determine, as is the extent of their involvement. Professor Ian Cowan points out that there are readily available many examples of men of this class committed to the Reformation, however there is 'no easy definition of considerations which prompted zeal for true religion'.¹³ The lairds have been described as the 'principal movers' of reform and this was also the case in Dunkeld.¹⁴ Knox claimed that 'for the most part the barons and gentlemen have put to their hands to remove idolatry and monuments of the same'.¹⁵ This involvement took various forms, including ecclesiastical patronage and those employing protestant clergy included Campbell of Glenorchy, Menzies of Weem and David, Lord Drummond. Although the

11. RMS, ii, no. 2953; iv, no. 1520.

12. RSS, vi, no. 681; SRO Justiciary Court Recs., JC 26/1/62.

13. Cowan, Scottish Reformation, 126.

14. Cowan, ibid., 124.

15. Knox, History, i, 176, 182, 190-1, 360; ii, 215, 264, 283.

crown retained the vast majority of presentations to benefices the importance of the local laird should not be under-*played*. His influence enabled him to secure the appointment of a kinsman or servant and his wealth was often used to supplement the stipend of the incumbent. Distinction must be made between the court and territorial nobility. In England it was generally the former who had stables of protestant ministers, whereas in Scotland catholicism was still strong at court and it was the latter who encouraged reformed clergy.

Lay support of this 'middling sort' was also evident in the Reformation Parliament of August 1560, when there attended many who were not 'in use to be present'. Of the one hundred or so lairds who attended at least half were from areas in which protestantism was already well established, namely Perth, Fife, Angus and the Mearns, all of which included parishes controlled by Dunkeld. These members of parliament included the Earls of Atholl and Argyll, Lords Ruthven, Innermeath, Ogilvy, Murray of Tullibardine, Campbell of Glenorchy, Crichton of Ruthven, Stewart of Rosyth, Hering of Glasclune, Stewart of Grandtully, Ramsay of Bamff, Wardlaw of Torry and Stewart of Airtully.¹⁶ Little is known about the influence of the numerous smaller families to be found in each parish and one can often only assume that they followed the lead of more powerful kinsmen. This upsurge in support for the protestants should be put into perspective by the fact that catholicism was still strong, especially at court, where during the immediate post-Reformation period many of the

16. APS, ii, 525-6.

nobility remained catholic.

Religion was clearly not the sole motive and the sudden surge of religious fervour has been attributed to various factors. Although there may have been unanimity that the church required reform, many have questioned the new-found zeal pointing to lay enthusiasm for the appropriation of church lands and the securing of existing tacks and feus. This is not strictly correct as the proposals outlined in the First Book of Discipline and later legislation of the 1560s recommended the transfer of patrimony from the laity back to the clergy. At the Convention of Leith in 1572 those lords who met the church commissioners were accused of 'hunting for fatt kirk livings'.¹⁷ Such self-interest was as much evident amongst the catholic opposition, such as Atholl and Oliphant, who favoured the traditional ecclesiastical structure and its financial benefits. Both nobles made stringent efforts to hamper the establishment of the kirk in parishes within their jurisdiction. Atholl blocked the planting of a reformed ministry in six parishes for almost a decade, whilst Oliphant barred the doors of the kirks of Dupplin and Aberdalgie and would 'not oppin the samein to preachers that presentit themselves to have preachit the word'.¹⁸

This cynical view of the noble's financial exploitation fails, however, to take into account those who honestly did find 'the strait gate and the narrow way which leadeth unto life'.¹⁹ Aside from purely moral advantages the role which the reformed church gave

17. Calderwood, History, iii, 170.

18. BUK, i, 53; for those parishes under the patronage of Atholl see appendices (b) and (c).

19. Donaldson, G., All the Queen's Men (London, 1983), 31.

the nobility offered it a 'new and inspiring image' of itself.²⁰ Knox appealed to the nobility emphasising its role as inferior magistrates, for 'the reformation of religion and of public enormities doth appertain to more than to the clergy or chief rulers called kings'.²¹ Those who heeded this call found moral backing for their well-established social position, which was enhanced by the active role they took in the affairs of the church.

Other less altruistic factors in the revolution of 1559-60 included the dislike of the continued French presence in Scotland, which Henry VIII of England had exploited in his recruitment of Scottish collaborators. The French had often been unpopular guests in Scotland, and even more so when it became apparent that the Scots were to finance their presence. French troops were garrisoned in many Scottish fortresses and French courtiers appointed to lucrative offices of state. This French domination was effectively ended by the Treaty of Edinburgh in 1560, which led to the withdrawal of both French and English troops.²²

The long-standing relationship with the French made it difficult for Mary to avoid contact with France, especially in her capacity as queen-dowager. However she would appear to have heeded the advice of her half-brother, Lord James Stewart, as under his influence, and that of William Maitland of Lethington, her foreign and domestic policies were marked by a high degree of political realism. The French withdrawal and the growing political

20. Wormald, J., Court, Kirk and Community (London, 1981), 138.

21. Knox, Works, i, 272.

22. APS, ii, 499-500; Donaldson, G., Scottish Historical Documents (Edinburgh, 1974), 120-4.

crisis in France marked the end of French influence, and during the course of the second half of the sixteenth century the circumstances upon which the Franco-Scottish alliance had been founded became less relevant. The changing international situation meant that France was under greater threat from the Hapsburgs than from the English and had less need for a Scottish alliance.²³ After 1560 Scotland drifted into a closer, but often uneasy 'amity' with England, which culminated in the union of the crowns in 1603. Linked to the French question and Mary's succession was the question of the government of Scotland and the ambiguous positions of potential contenders such as Lord James Stewart and James Hamilton, duke of Châtelherault. The political ambitions of these men, and lesser nobles such as Atholl and Oliphant, became more apparent as Mary's position in Scotland became less tenable.²⁴

The divisions following the Reformation were both religious and political and whilst the religious differences were easily identifiable the political situation was much more complex. The religious split was not purely between catholics and protestants, but also within the kirk itself. As the Reformation developed the split became more pronounced, not only amongst the political factions, but also within the church, which was split over various issues: the growing tensions after 1574 between church and state and the rival claims of the episcopacy and the new presbyteries. By the 1580s, and especially after the fall of the short-lived Ruthven regime in

23. Donaldson, G., The Auld Alliance (Saltire Society, 1985), 16-25.

24. Donaldson, All the Queen's Men, 83-116.

1583, there was a significant rift between the moderates and the radicals. The bulk of the clergy to the north of the River Tay, to the dismay of the Melvillians, failed to resist the combined pressure of Archbishop Patrick Adamson and the Arran regime in the subscription crisis of 1584-5.²⁵ In Angus and the Mearns, where the influence of the superintendent, Erskine of Dun, still held sway, ministers were encouraged to accept the new episcopalian regime.²⁶

Although the idea of a geographical split must be treated with caution, there was a general division between those areas north and south of the Tay. Despite examples of radicalism north of the river the area did display a general conservatism. Although the north included powerful Roman Catholic earls, such as Huntly, there was little evidence of real religious zeal, whereas the faction to the south, under Lord Ruthven, was 'ultra-protestant and pro-English'.²⁷ This northern conservatism was also evident within the diocese of Dunkeld, where many protestant and catholic lairds remained loyal to Mary.

The patterns of support for the Queen's and King's parties were extremely complicated, and while conservatism in religion often went hand in hand with political conservatism, it is not always possible to equate Marianism with Catholicism. Many protestant lords of the party of the revolution in 1559-60, such as Campbell of Glenorchy,

25. Calderwood, History, iv, 459-63.

26. Bardgett, F.D., Scotland Reformed: The Reformation in Angus and Mearns (Edinburgh, 1989), 164-7; Donaldson, Scottish Reformation, 214; BUK, ii, 745, 783; Spottiswoode, History, ii, 412; Spalding Misc., iv, 69-72; Wod. Misc., i, 432, 436.

27. Donaldson, G., Scottish Church History (1985), 193.

Murray of Tullibardine and Ramsay of Bamff, remained supporters of the queen, as did other protestants such as Lord Drummond and Menzies of Weem.²⁸ In 1565 'the force of the north' supported the queen and in 1570, after her deposition, it was noted that the 'queen's party was strongest amongst the nobles and gentlemen of the shires'.²⁹ In fact throughout the sixteenth century the Scottish nobility never lost sight of its commitment to the Scottish monarchy, although it should be noted that in the aforementioned report of 1570 the 'cheif baronis ar against her'.³⁰ It is more difficult to find catholic supporters of the king, with the exception of political and religious turncoats, such as Atholl and Oliphant.

The fortunes of the Marian party slumped following Carberry in 1567 and Langside in 1568, but revived during 1569 and the early 1570s following the murder of Lord James, who had been created earl of Moray in 1562. In April 1570 the instructions sent by the Marians to James Beaton, Mary's agent in France, detailed the extent of the queen's support. Amongst the nobles, Huntly, Argyll, Crawford, Atholl, Oliphant and Drummond were for the queen and Ruthven against.³¹ Support for Mary remained consistent, Atholl being one of the new signatories since the Langside and Dumbarton bonds of 1568.³² Besides these lords of parliament there were other 'greit barounis that bearis a greit suey and ar of greit force. Of

28. Warrender Papers, i, 82; RSS, v, nos. 774, 782; Menzies, D.P., Red and White Book of Menzies (Glasgow, 1894), 187.

29. RPC, i, 362, 379, 380; CSP Scot, ii, no. 278; Warrender Papers, i, 83.

30. Warrender Papers, i, 83.

31. Ibid., i, 81.

32. The signatories of both bonds are listed in Donaldson, All the Queen's Men, 165-6.

this ar for the Quene the haill north from Tay to Pentland Firth except Pettarro, Dun and few mean gentlemen in Angus of na nombre'. One of the exceptions to the geographical division theory was Fife, where, except for a few dependants of Lindsay and Douglas of Lochleven, the majority were Marians. In Perth, Strathearn and Menteith there were few powerful lairds, however the two most important, Campbell of Glenorchy and Murray of Tullibardine, were queen's men. A further source of support for the queen was the old catholic clergy, who 'constitute the next forceist estait in the cuntrey [and] is in lyk maner because the greitist part of auld possessouris ar of the ancien religioun and therefor wissit weill to his majesty and the alliance of France'.³³ This Marian revival was short-lived as the faction collapsed following the Pacification of Perth and the fall of Edinburgh Castle in 1573. Under the terms of the Pacification Huntly and Hamilton promised religious conformity and to recognise Morton as regent. Atholl was not included, but separated from his allies he represented little threat to the regent.³⁴ Although the Castilians were keen that Atholl should replace Morton, the former was not present at the fall of Edinburgh Castle in May.³⁵ Many of those freed went into the service of the King of Sweden, however Grange, Lethington, Robert Crichton and Crichton of Drilaw were detained, pending negotiations with Queen Elizabeth.³⁶ Unlike Grange, Bishop Crichton escaped execution, and

33. Warrender Papers, i, 83.

34. CSP Foreign, Elizabeth, 1572-4, no. 402-3.

35. CSP Scot, iv, nos. 492, 507-8, 533, 665-7.

36. Ibid., iv, no. 665.

was warded in Blackness Castle. Lethington escaped the gallows by dying shortly after his capture.³⁷

Atholl and Oliphant are typical of the inconsistency displayed by some of the nobles, both catholic and protestant. Atholl was the most politically influential, if unreliable, of the Dunkeld nobles who supposedly remained loyal to Mary and the catholic church. During the 1560s he was one of Mary's closest advisors, but despite his influence, failed to provide the leadership for the other catholic or conservative lairds. He vacillated between the queen's and king's parties, with many of his moves being politically rather than religiously motivated. Both he and his great rival Argyll used their considerable local influence in pursuit of national power. Atholl, despite being made chancellor in the last year of his life, never attained any real position of power in government. Oliphant on the other hand would appear to have been using national power to bolster his local power base, which was under considerable threat from Ruthven. Oliphant's career was brief and, like Atholl, self-interest and fear motivated his switch to the King's Party.³⁸ Other families, less involved in national politics, such as the Abercrombies of Murthly, made more significant and consistent contributions to the conservative cause. However as the ineffectiveness of the opposition of such families became more apparent, they slipped into a state of 'Roman Catholic quietism', re-emerging during the 1580s and 1590s.³⁹

37. Ibid., iv, no. 692; Hist. King James VI, 145.

38. RPC, i, 654-5, 670; CSP Foreign, Elizabeth, 1572-4, no. 761.

39. Trevor-Roper, H.R., 'The Gentry 1540-1640', Economic History Review Supplements, i, 43.

A further complication, which often obscured religious and political differences, was the various forms of mutual obligation such as kinship, bonds of manrent and the feudal relationship of superior and vassal. In the concept of kinship, loyalty to a family or an individual was often held to be of greater importance than religion or politics. At court, however, these bonds were perhaps less binding, being considerably loosened by clientage and factionalism. John Knox, himself a dependant of James Hepburn, earl of Bothwell, was critical of kinship, describing it as a concept 'invented by Satan to protect sinful blood'.⁴⁰

The influence of the head of a family could determine the allegiance of a large number of kin. Campbell of Glenorchy, a vassal of Argyll, was himself superior of cadets of his family such as the Campbells of Carwhin, Glenlyon, Lawers and Lix, as well as of many McGregors and McNabs.⁴¹ The strength of the earls of Argyll was a result of Campbell cohesion which allowed the clan to operate as a single unit. James, Lord Ogilvy, another protestant Marian, was a 'man of no great lyvinge but of a good number of landed men of his surname which makes his power in Angus greater'.⁴² Murray of Tullibardine was the most powerful of a quartet of Murray families, which included the cadets of Balvaird, Tibbermore and Touchadam.⁴³

In many cases the obligation involved did not cause any conflict of interest, however it could produce a complicated web

40. Knox, History, i, 71; ii, 38.

41. Gillies, Breadalbane, 86, 237; SRO Breadalbane Mun. GD 112/1/81 & 89; Taymouth Bk., 198-9; RMS, iv, no. 2164.

42. Wormald, Court, Kirk and Community, 29; BL MSS. 38, 823 fos. 9r-12v.

43. Donaldson, All the Queen's Men, 79.

of relationships in which religious and political differences were sometimes obscured. Antonia Fraser describes these feudal and family relationships as being 'interwoven like the steps of a complicated highland reel'.⁴⁴ In 1579 an English emissary was unable to work out the implications of an Atholl-Ruthven marriage, especially as Ruthven was a supporter of Morton, who despised Atholl.⁴⁵ Atholl's father, the fourth earl, and Ruthven had had close links and had often sided with each other. In 1565 the Lennox faction had involved both nobles and in 1577 Roberts Bowes, treasurer of Berwick, noted the composition of a faction led by Atholl, Ruthven and Lindsay, who had 'confederated themselves by oath for the maintenance of the King'.⁴⁶ The Atholl-Ruthven marriage, despite the influence of Morton, brought the two families closer together, as with his new wife Atholl 'entred the feades of her father'.⁴⁷ A kinsman of Atholl, Stewart of Innermeath, also 'depends wholly on Ruthven', his neighbour in Strathearn. Further complications were caused by the fact that Ruthven had previously been 'bound to Hamiltouns and Crytouns'.⁴⁸ The same English emissary must have been totally confused by the fact that an Atholl-Argyll alliance might also have been possible, irrespective of the fact that the two families had been feuding for the greater part of the 1570s.⁴⁹

Atholl's manoeuvrings were themselves often in response to the

44. Fraser, A., Mary, Queen of Scots (London, 1969), 183.

45. HMC Cecil, ii, 285.

46. Keith, History, ii, 271-2; HMC Hastings, ii, 10.

47. Hist. King James VI, 229.

48. CSP Scot., iii, no. 898; v, no. 284.

49. RPC, ii, 533, 538-9, 546; TA, xiii, 133-4.

actions of his kin and his switching of sides was often influenced by his brothers-in-law, Huntly and Maitland of Lethington. The chances of success of any catholic revival were weakened, not only by Atholl's indecisiveness, but also by these very bonds of kinship. Two of the leading catholic families, the Oliphants and the Abercrombies, had little contact on account of Oliphant's relationship by marriage to Morton and Morton's dislike of Abercrombie.

Under cover of the civil war many families took the opportunity to settle old scores. In many cases these private disputes were obscured by the main conflict, hence the misconception of Alexander Hay in 1573 that there were few feuds in Scotland.⁵⁰ Although some of these feuds were prolonged, the situation was not as serious as that portrayed by Bishop John Leslie, who claimed 'gret families they feid and that perpetuallie'.⁵¹ Aside from the Atholl-Argyll and Ruthven-Oliphant feuds the majority were short-term and usually of a local nature. In between feuding with each other, Atholl and Argyll conspired with Campbell of Glenorchy to destroy the McGregors on account of their continued catholicism and banditry, but more importantly their lands in northwest Perthshire.⁵²

Territorial expansion was only one of the reasons behind feuding. Others included financial gain, political prestige and disagreements between superiors and vassals. The Campbells of

50. CSP Scot., iv, no. 722.

51. Leslie, History, i, 103.

52. MacGregor, M., A Political History of the MacGregors before 1571 (Edinburgh Ph.D., 1989), 345-76.

Glenorchy expanded their already extensive possessions, not only in Breadalbane, but also further afield in Angus, where their claims to Coupar Angus Abbey led to disputes with Atholl, and later with the Ogilvies.⁵³ This later feud with the Ogilvies was part of a more widespread feud between Crawford and Glamis which flared up most violently in 1591 with the threat of further Campbell expansion. This feud also involved Atholl, Argyll and Huntly and led to the death of twenty men, including some Atholl kinsmen who had sided with Argyll.⁵⁴ In the aftermath of the feud the Ogilvies suffered badly, not only at the hands of the Campbells, but also at the hands of the crown.⁵⁵

Perthshire was a troubled area throughout the post-Reformation period, especially at harvest-time. Teinds proved an area of contention and Ruthven was particularly belligerent in his demands, feuding with Bruce of Clackmannan and Oliphant.⁵⁶ Disputes between landlords and tenants often occurred not only between superiors and vassals but also between lairds of equal power. Atholl tried to dispossess Campbell of Glenorchy of some of his lands in Perthshire before the expiry of the lease over them, but was ordered to pay compensation by Perth Sheriff Court. Atholl made good his losses by simply plundering back the cattle offered as compensation.⁵⁷ The majority of such feuds never gained more than local importance, with the exception of those between more politically active nobles, such

53. RPC, i, 380, 385.

54. CSP Scot., x, no. 606.

55. RPC, iv, 682-4, 687-8.

56. Ibid., ii, 273.

57. Ibid., iv, 687.

as Atholl, Argyll and Huntly.

Three Regional Studies: Strathtay, Dunkeld and Strathearn

Despite being a geographically diverse diocese, the religious and political factions which developed in Dunkeld during the post-Reformation period were generally unaffected by topography. Beyond the vague assertion that those areas to the north of the River Tay were more conservative, it is impossible to make generalisations as the laity in each locality aligned themselves according to a variety of religious, political and social factors. The areas in these studies, Strathtay, Dunkeld and Strathearn, amply demonstrate the effects of these factors and are indicative of the diversity which could exist within an area and within any locality of that area. Strathtay covers the area from the confluence of the Rivers Tay and Garry near Logierait to Loch Tay sixteen miles to the south-west. The study of Dunkeld includes not only the town itself but also the neighbouring villages of Murthly to the south and Clunie to the east. Strathearn encompasses the area to the west of Bridge of Earn up-river to Crieff. Together these three areas cover a large part of the central part of the diocese and represent a fair cross-section of it, covering highland and lowland areas.

The lairds within Strathtay were predominantly protestant, those around Dunkeld catholic, while in Strathearn there were adherents of both faiths. Politically the picture was more complex and simple stereotypes such as 'catholic, Marian and francophile' or 'protestant, King's Man and anglophile' do not necessarily apply.

It should also be noted that the northern parts of the diocese were dominated by more powerful, individual nobles, such as Campbell of Glenorchy and Atholl, whilst in the southern areas there was a greater proliferation of middling nobles and lairds, including Oliphant, Ruthven, Innermeath and Drummond.

Strathtay was controlled by three protestant lairds, Campbell of Glenorchy, Menzies of Weem and Stewart of Grandtully. There is evidence to suggest that all three were early protestants, with Glenorchy and Menzies being influenced by the new Lutheran doctrines as early as the 1530s. The influence of these lairds ensured the early acceptance of the reformed faith in the ten parishes between Grandtully and Killin. The Chronicle of Fortingall, which offers a reasonably unbiased account of local affairs, notes that in 1559 'nayn durst sa mes na sacramentis usyt in the ald fasson'.⁵⁸ This pre-dates the Reformation Parliament of August 1560 and suggests that the local lairds were already imposing their religious views. The Chronicle also provides an interesting catalogue of the religious affiliations of other lairds within and outwith the diocese. It notes the early protestant stands taken by Archibald Campbell, 5th earl of Argyll, James Campbell of Lawers, William Murray of Tullibardine and Alexander Menzies of Weem. Argyll was 'principium noue legis hereticorum' and is noted as having died in 1558 'in tempore Congregationis'. Campbell and Murray lived and died 'in lege Lutereana', while Menzies 'abrenuntiauit missam et sacramentum altaris'.⁵⁹

58. Taymouth Bk., 129.

59. Ibid., 128, 130, 131.

The Campbells of Glenorchy had originally spread east from the old McGregor stronghold at Kilchurn on Loch Awe and by the sixteenth century owned extensive lands around Loch Tay, Glenlyon, Glendochart and Loch Earn. Their sphere of influence stretched east of Aberfeldy and included Perth, where Glenorchy feued a lodging from the Bishops of Dunkeld. In 1574 Bishop James Paton was called to compear in Perth as the 'lugeing land and tenement is auld ruynoss and decayit in all partis'.⁶⁰ Colin Campbell, the first laird, had been a vassal of the Menzies in Breadalbane, but by the time of the sixth laird in the middle of the sixteenth century the Menzies , and also the McGregors and the McDonalds of Lochaber, had been displaced. Cadets of the family were established at Lix in Glendochart, Lawers on Lochtayside and in Glenlyon, giving the Campbells total control of the eastern end of Breadalbane.

Colin Campbell, 6th laird of Glenorchy (1499-1583) was one of the most powerful lairds in Perthshire. Like his superior, the Earl of Argyll, his strength lay in the tight control which he exercised over his territories. Glenorchy was an early protestant and was one of the lairds of the party of revolution in 1559-60.⁶¹ In 1559 Knox noted that 'to Saint Johnston ... did convene ... the laird of Glenorchy and divers others who before had not presented themselves for the defence of their brethren'.⁶² In political matters he followed the lead of Argyll, Mary's brother-in-law and even after the earl's defection to the King's Party in the early

60. SRO Breadalbane Muns. GD 112/2/130/1, 2, 4 and 7.

61. Donaldson, All the Queen's Men, 164.

62. Knox, History, i, 138.

1570s Glenorchy remained a Marian.⁶³ His loyalty after 1573 may have been influenced by his new relationship, through the marriage of their offspring, with Atholl. In the marriage contract between Jean Stewart and Duncan Campbell it was agreed that 'mutual freindschip, perfect amitie and unfenzeit luif suld stand and remane' between the two families.⁶⁴

Campbell was continually in dispute with his neighbours in attempting to consolidate and strengthen his position. His feud during the 1570s with the Menzieses, his former superiors, led to a reprimand from the privy council, but worked to his advantage allowing him more time to persuade his ally Morton to grant him control of holdings in Breadalbane. Even more cynical was his treatment of the McGregors, who had long inhabited eastern Breadalbane. At an early age Glenorchy was sent to Stronfearnan to be fostered by a family of McGregors, however he was later to show little respect for the kinsmen of his foster parents.⁶⁵ Two years after his succession in 1550 he expelled Gregor Dougalson from Balloch at the east end of Loch Tay, in the parish of Inchaiden. The expulsion of Dougalson and his subsequent death 'in exile' near Dull was much lamented in the Chronicle of Fortingall.⁶⁶ After the expulsion of Dougalson Glenorchy switched his residence from the Isle of Loch Tay to Balloch. His new stronghold was built sometime prior to October 1560 and may have been the building referred to in the

63. Warrender Papers, i, 82; RPC, ii, 172; RSS, vi, nos. 1421, 1800; CSP Scot., iv, no. 616.

64. SRO Breadalbane Muns. GD 112/2/77/7.

65. Gillies, Breadalbane, 121; SRO Breadalbane Muns. GD 112/1/38.

66. Taymouth Bk, 123, 125.

Chronicle as being begun in the summer of 1557.⁶⁷ The Chronicle also records 'greit hayrschypps in many pairts of Scotland, in Stratherne, in Lennox, Glenalmond, in Braydelbin baytht slatty and oppressyn beand mayd in syndry partis be the Erill of Ergill and McGregor and ther complexis'.⁶⁸ In 1563 a commission was issued against the McGregors involving Atholl, Erroll, Ogilvy, Ruthven, Drummond and Glenorchy, who was given further powers of fire and sword.⁶⁹ In that same year he used the clan Donald to clear eastern Rannoch of the McGregors.⁷⁰ The Campbell policy towards the McGregors was most hypocritical as Argyll used the clan to harass the catholic laird, Ogilvy of Airlie. In 1564 the general commission was superseded by one to Atholl and Argyll alone and in the following year Glenorchy, the 'great justiciar', was deprived of his special commission after complaints of abuse.⁷¹ Despite the intervention of Queen Mary on behalf of the McGregors, the feuding continued and in 1569 a contract was signed between Atholl, Menzies and Stewart of Grandtully against the McGregors in Strathtay.⁷² In the following year Glenorchy executed Gregor McGregor of Glenstrae, the McGregor chief, at Tom-na-Croiche, near Kenmore, in the presence of Atholl. Although he had been captured the previous year, his execution had been stalled by the intervention of Campbell of Glenlyon, whose family had always maintained good relations with the McGregors. His

67. Gillies, Breadalbane, 121; Taymouth Bk, 127.

68. Taymouth Bk, 134.

69. SRO Breadalbane Muns. GD 112/1/129.

70. Gillies, Breadalbane, 129.

71. RPC, i, 361.

72. HMC Menzies, 692.

fate however was decided by national affairs, which were dominated by the assassination of Moray and the re-emergence of the Queen's Party. Following Glenorchy's death in 1583 the persecution of the McGregors was continued by the 7th laird, Black Duncan of the Cowl. In the forty-eight years following his succession he became one of the most powerful lairds in the Western Highlands. His ambition and aggression were tempered only by an interest in agricultural improvement. This, however, was of little consolation to his neighbours, who were much relieved that the later Glenorchy lairds were poor figures in comparison with their predecessors.

Such a powerful family naturally attracted a large number of kin and the bonds of the 6th and 7th lairds are well recorded in the Buke of Bandis and the Black Book of Taymouth.⁷³ There have survived over forty bonds by Colin Campbell and three times that number by his son.⁷⁴ These various promises of manrent, calps and maintenance were made not only with kinsmen such as the Campbells of Glenlyon, Lawers, Lix and Strachur, but also with other clans such as the McGregors and the McNabs.⁷⁵ In 1552 Gregor McGregor, son of James McGregor, dean of Lismore, renounced his chief, however it is unclear whether such a bond was a guarantee of safety from the various commissions against the clan, especially in the light of Glenorchy's unscrupulousness in other affairs.⁷⁶ Many of these

73. SRO Breadalbane Muns. GD 112/24; Taymouth Bk., 175-262.

74. Wormald, J., Lords and Men in Scotland: Bonds of Manrent 1442-1603 (Edinburgh, 1985), 205-249.

75. Ibid., 209, 214; Taymouth Bk., 199, 202, 205.

76. SRO Breadalbane Muns. GD 112/1/81 and 89.

McGregor bonds were renounced following Glenorchy's refusal to grant the lands of Glenstrae to the clan.

The Campbells of Lawers were the senior cadet of the family of Glenorchy. The first laird, John Campbell, was a son of Colin Campbell, 1st laird of Glenorchy, who acquired Lawers in 1473.⁷⁷ The second laird, James Campbell, also acquired the superiority of Carwhin from John Haldane of Gleneagles in 1526.⁷⁸ James Campbell was an early protestant and on his death in 1561 was noted as having lived in the Lutheran law.⁷⁹ The Campbells of Glenlyon originated from Archibald Campbell, the younger son of the second laird of Glenorchy. The glen had originally been seized from the Stewarts of Garth at the end of the fifteenth century and erected into a barony.⁸⁰ Despite having a peaceable, if unpredictable, relationship with the McGregors of Roro, the Campbells of Glenlyon continued to exploit them and their Stewart and Menzies neighbours.

Glenorchy was also closely involved in the social and religious lives of the parishes which his territories encompassed. This was especially true of the parishes of Killin and Inchaiden, which were the sites of his strongholds at Finlarig and Balloch. Glenorchy was an early example of a 'godly patron', who encouraged the appointment of protestant clergy. In 1556 he had listened to John Knox preaching at Castle Campbell, near Dollar, and had tried unsuccessfully to persuade him to stay: 'the laird of Glenorchy being one of his auditors will the said Earl of Argyll to retain him

77. Gillies, Breadalbane, 237.

78. Ibid., 85; SRO Breadalbane Muns. GD 112/1/829.

79. Taymouth Bk., 130.

80. RMS, ii, no. 2448.

still'.⁸¹ Following the Reformation Glenorchy appointed his chaplain, William Ramsay, as minister at Inchaiden. Ramsay had been connected with the Campbells as early as 1530, around which time he had presented a copy of Colonna's Historia Troiana, inscribed with the words 'liber dompni Willelmi Ramsay', to Colin Campbell, third earl of Argyll.⁸² Ramsay was a chaplain in Breadalbane throughout the 1540s and 1550s, during which time he was described as a priest of Dunblane diocese.⁸³ In 1552 he was designed as a priest in the diocese of Dunkeld and in the same year was presented to the rectory of Kilmore by Glenorchy.⁸⁴ In 1555 he was the laird's chaplain at Finlarig and in 1557 his name was mentioned in an order issued by Robert Crichton summoning the parishioners of Killin to pay their dues.⁸⁵ On 28 May 1561 Ramsay signed a contract with Glenorchy to 'mak dew mynistratioun in the paris kirk and house of prayeris at Inchekadyn ... in teching and preching syncerely the word of God and mynistring of the sacramentis to the glory of God and instructione of the pepill in sa far as God vill wouchtschaiff his giftis and grace to hym according to the vocatione and dewyte of ane trew pastour and minister'. Provision was also made in the contract for Ramsay's wife and children.⁸⁶ During the course of the 1560s Ramsay was also minister at Fortingall, Weem and Grandtully.⁸⁷ His successor, Duncan McAuley, was minister at Dull, Fortingall, Grandtully, Foss,

81. Knox, History, i, 123.

82. ESL, 136.

83. SRO Breadalbane Muns. GD 112/2/3a/1&2, 18/6, 56/1.

84. Ibid., GD 112/51/2/6/11.

85. Ibid., GD 112/1/103.

86. Ibid., GD 112/1/114.

87. TB, 251; Scott, Fasti, viii, 356; Reg. Min., 29; RSS, vi, nos. 348, 567.

Inchaiden and later Blair Atholl.⁸⁸ He also maintained close links with Glenorchy and was a regular house guest at Balloch and Finlarig. McAuley was also a reformed church commissioner, with responsibility for the erection of presbyteries during the 1580s. Glenorchy was also patron of the chancellery of Lismore and in 1558 appointed Dougal McGregor to that office.⁸⁹ In 1574 Dougal was reader of Fortingall and perhaps also of Killin and Weem.⁹⁰ Dougal was a son of James McGregor, vicar of Fortingall and dean of Lismore, and may, like his brother, have signed a bond of manrent renouncing McGregor and assuming Glenorchy as his chief.⁹¹ Gregor seems to have broken the terms of the bond as in 1565 he was murdered by a Robertson, James McInstalker of Ardeonaig, a mercenary employed by Glenorchy.⁹²

Glenorchy was instrumental in the decline of Inchaiden and the rise of the village of Kenmore, a mile upstream. Inchaiden was situated at an important ford on the road from Blair Atholl to Crieff, however it was often cut off when the river was in spate. In 1572 Glenorchy built a new inn at Kenmore to cater for those travellers using the ferry and in 1575 transferred the market of Nine Virgins from Inchaiden to the new village. Thereafter it was 'haldin and begun at the Kenmore at the end of Loch Tay and ther was na margat nor fayr haldin at Inchadin quhair it was mynt til be haldin'.⁹³ More importantly he brought about the removal of the

88. TB, 250, 251, 252; Reg. Min., 30; Wod. Misc., 356; Taymouth Bk., 226, 311.

89. Taymouth Bk., 128.

90. Wod. Misc., 356; Reg. Min. 29; TB, 253.

91. SRO Breadalbane Mun. GD 112/1/81 and 89.

92. Gillies, Breadalbane, 372-3.

93. Taymouth Bk., 140.

church to Kenmore. This relocation and revitalisation of the church as the spiritual centre of the parish had important social consequences, hence his keenness to control the ministry. Glenorchy was also aware of the need for a complete break from the catholic church, especially in an area where, according to the Chronicle of Fortingall, there was still an undercurrent of catholicism. In 1579-80 he organised a petition demanding the transfer of the church on account of its inconvenient situation and state of repair: 'the samyn being fallin down to the ground and alto[gether] demolisit except a Litill part off the wall standing'.⁹⁴ A further motivation may have been the Sunday Act of 1579 which imposed penalties for staying away from church.⁹⁵ A convenient and comfortable church was required to counter absenteeism. The petition called for a new church but 'reserved alwayes the place of the auld kyrk and kyrkyaird for ane buriall for the quilk use it served of befor'.⁹⁶ The churchyard was a place of great local importance and included the graves of the Dean of Lismore and the McGregors of Balloch, Robertsons of Carwhin and McNaughtons of Edragoll. The church was repaired in 1585 but rarely used again.⁹⁷ The destruction of the church was completed by the third earl of Breadalbane, who 'can never be excused for the obliteration of the parish churchyard at Inchadney, an act he carried out on purely selfish grounds'.⁹⁸ The headstones were removed and used as draincovers at Taymouth Castle, the churchyard planted with

94. SRO Breadalbane Muns. GD 112/1/224a, 251; GD 122/2/117/57/1/1,2,3

95. APS, iii, 138.

96. SRO Breadalbane Muns. GD 112/1/224a.

97. Gillies, Breadalbane, 57.

98. Christie, J., The Lairds and Lands of Lochtayside (Aberfeldy, 1892), 12.

trees and the church used as a farm building.⁹⁹

Glenorchy's neighbours, the Menzieses of Weem, were well-established residents of Breadalbane. The origins of the clan are unclear, but can be traced back to Robert de Meyneris, chamberlain of Scotland in 1249. His heir, Alexander, was granted the lands of Aberfeldy and Weem during the 1260s and following the War of Independence the Menzies holdings were expanded to include Lochtayside, Glendochart, Finlarig and Glenorchy. Until 1488 the clan seat was at Comrie Castle near the entrance to Glenlyon, but after its destruction was moved four miles east to Weem. In 1502 this new stronghold was also destroyed, by Neil Stewart of Garth, a descendant of the Wolf of Badenoch.¹⁰⁰ The castle was rebuilt and in 1510 the Menzies lands were erected into a barony. In response to the threat posed by the ever-expanding Campbells of Glenorchy the present castle was built around 1571.¹⁰¹

The Menzieses, like their Campbell neighbours, were early protestants. Robert Menzies (1475-1557) had incurred the wrath of some of his tenants with his protestant beliefs and it has been suggested that some instances of unrest on his lands in 1537, involving the destruction of crops, may have had religious undercurrents.¹⁰² His son Alexander also 'renounced the mass and sacrament of the altar' and as patron of St. David's Church at Weem was able to introduce protestantism to his tenants.¹⁰³ Protestant

99. The Survey of Lochtayside, 1769 (SHS, 1935), xvi, 204-7.

100. Taymouth Bk., 114.

101. RMS, iv, no. 2082.

102. Menzies, Red and White Book of Menzies, 168-9.

103. Taymouth Bk., 131.

clergy were established at Dull and Weem at a fairly early date. Duncan McClaggane was possibly a cleric at Dull in 1561, but by 1564 there was certainly a minister, Duncan McAuley, serving the parish.¹⁰⁴ William Ramsay, the minister at Inchaiden in 1561, was minister at Weem prior to 1564.¹⁰⁵

By the time of the Reformation the influence of the clan had been curtailed by Campbell expansionism. Throughout the sixteenth century they consolidated their position by remaining loyal to the crown and by a succession of prudent marriages. Alexander Menzies (1504-63) and his son James (1523-85) both acted as ambassadors for the crown. In 1555 Alexander was sent to France to arrange a matrimonial alliance, but on his return was detained by the English and questioned for information regarding France's foreign policy. His prudent conduct at the hands of the English gained him favour with Mary of Guise.¹⁰⁶ In 1565 James carried confidential papers to the English court and on account of his good relations with the crown he was able to persuade Mary to restrict the excesses of Glenorchy in his treatment of the McGregors.¹⁰⁷

The various marriage alliances of the sixteenth century allied the clan with some of the most powerful families in Scotland. Robert Menzies was married twice, firstly to Christian Gordon, a daughter of Alexander, 3rd earl of Huntly and secondly to Marion Campbell, a daughter of Archibald, 2nd earl of Argyll. The Campbell

104. RMS, iv, no. 1730; Reg. Min., 30; TB, 251.

105. TB, 251; Scott, Fasti, viii, 356.

106. Menzies, Red and White Book of Menzies, 184-5.

107. CSP Foreign, Elizabeth, 1564-5, no. 1292.

alliance was continued by his son Alexander, who married Janet Campbell, a daughter of James Campbell of Lawers. A more powerful kinsman was found for James Menzies, who married Barbara Stewart, a daughter of John Stewart, 3rd earl of Atholl. The marriage of Alexander Menzies to Margaret Campbell, a daughter of Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy, reflected the rise of Glenorchy and the eclipse of Atholl.¹⁰⁸

Despite these links with the Campbells relations between the two families remained strained. They were often at odds, usually over Menzies's lenient treatment of the McGregors. There was also a long-running dispute over the lands of Cranach, Rannoch and Auchmore, which continued during the seventeenth century.¹⁰⁹ Throughout the 1560s and 1570s bonds were made with Huntly, Ruthven and Atholl, not only against the Campbells, but also their compatriot, Morton. Religious differences did not deter James Menzies from maintaining earlier family links with Huntly. In 1572 Huntly, on a visit to Atholl, was also keen to meet Menzies, although he stressed the need for circumspection 'be resone off many falsattis and desintis now usit in the warld'.¹¹⁰ Huntly's support was later to be particularly important to Alexander Menzies during the late 1580s when a confederation of Perthshire lairds attempted to acquire his father's lands.¹¹¹ He also seems to have enjoyed a close relationship with Ruthven, who referred to Menzies as his 'weil

108. Scots Peerage, i, 337; iv, 533; ix, 110.

109. SRO Breadalbane Muns. GD 112/1/36; HMC Menzies, 708.

110. HMC Menzies, 696.

111. Spalding Misc., iv, 237, 241; SRO Breadalbane Muns. GD 112/24/1; SRO Gordon Castle Mun. GD 44/13/8/39.

belovitt gossop the laird of Weym'.¹¹² His relationship with Atholl was most apparent in his role as mediator in the earl's feud with Argyll. In 1576 he was asked by Morton to mediate in this long-running dispute, despite in the same year requesting to be excluded from Atholl's jurisdiction and placed under that of Argyll.¹¹³ He would appear to have achieved some success as the following year he was able to announce that Atholl was prepared to settle privately.¹¹⁴ The new relationship with Argyll did not end the Menzies feud with Glenorchy, which the Campbells wished to continue. In 1580, in an attempt at reconciliation, the privy council called both the protagonists to Edinburgh, however Glenorchy failed to appear in an attempt to prolong the feud, which continued into the seventeenth century.¹¹⁵

John Stewart of Grandtully was a minor, but enthusiastic, member of the party of revolution of 1559-60. John Stewart, Lord Innermeath, was the first to acquire the barony of Grandtully at the end of the fourteenth century. It stretched from Aberfeldy to Balnaguard, a distance of 8 miles, and included the lands of Grandtully, Cultillich, Tullicroisk and Pitcairn.¹¹⁶ Tradition claims that at the Reformation a member of the family pulled down the altar at St. John's Kirk in Perth. It is said that William, the second son of the ninth laird 'went up to the high altar of St. John's Church at Perth and pulled down the altar and all the

112. HMC Menzies, 697.

113. Ibid., 696-7.

114. Ibid., 697.

115. RPC, iii, 297;

116. SRO Murthly Castle Muns. GD 121 boxes 1-10, 14, 15.

ornaments', however it was presumably the ninth laird himself, as William was not born until 1567. In 1560 the laird was a member of the Reformation parliament and was later a supporter of the King's Party.¹¹⁷ William junior served as a page of honour at Prince Charles James's coronation and in 1580 the king turned to his former page in his attempts to bring John Stewart, 5th earl of Atholl to heel. Shortly before accepting the English crown in 1603 James awarded William a pension for services rendered since the coronation.¹¹⁸

The Stewarts of Grandtully were patrons of the church of St. Mary at Pitcairn in the parish of Grandtully. Protestant worship was introduced at an early date and the church was served by William Ramsay, who had been appointed minister at nearby Inchaiden in 1561. Ramsay was supported by a reader William Craigie, who was later transferred to Weem. During the 1570s the parish was served by two of the most industrious clergymen in the area, Duncan McAuley and Duncan McClaggane, who both served within Breadalbane into the seventeenth century.¹¹⁹

Dunkeld and the surrounding area was dominated by John Stewart, 4th earl of Atholl, the eldest son of John Stewart the third earl and Grizel, daughter of Sir John Rattray of that Ilk. In 1530 it was arranged that he should marry Elizabeth Gordon, daughter of George, 4th earl of Huntly. Atholl's father, worried that his son was a 'pupile destitute of lauchfull tutoris' appointed Huntly as his

117. APS, ii, 525-6.

118. Fraser, Grandtully, i, p. lxxix; ii, 130.

119. Reg. Min., 29; TB, 252; Scott, Fasti, viii, 356; Wod. Misc., 352, 356.

tutor dative until he reached the age of fourteen, however by 1542 Atholl had succeeded his father.¹²⁰

Atholl's territories were widespread, covering large areas of land in Perthshire and Morayshire, including the lands of Atholl, Balvenie and Clunie. The family also held land in Fortingall, Strathtay, Glenshee, Glentilt, Strathgarry, Rattray and Strathardle. The fourth earl and his son accumulated a great deal of land in and around Dunkeld. Apart from their seat to the north of Bishop's Hill they also acquired the lands of Findynate, Tulliepowrie, East Ladywell and St. Peters from various members of the cathedral chapter. They also held the manses of the dean and the prebendary of Fern. The main seat of the family was located at Blair Atholl and at the time of the Reformation consisted of Cumming's Tower and the connected Round Tower. An account written in 1592 notes that the seat had been moved to Dunkeld.¹²¹

Atholl was an early supporter of Mary of Guise, backing her claims to the regency, and in 1555 she sent him north to subdue the rebellious highland chief John *of Mordart*.¹²² In 1557 he signed a second marriage contract with Margaret Fleming, daughter of Malcolm, 3rd Lord Fleming.¹²³ Margaret Fleming's brother John, 5th Lord Fleming was chamberlain of Scotland and in 1565 was appointed keeper of Dumbarton Castle. Her sister, Mary, married William Maitland of

120. RSS, iii, no. 1535.

121. Atholl and Tullibardine, v, p. lviii-ciii; Estimate of the Scottish Nobility during the Minority of James VI, 64.

122. Keith, History, i, 140; Leslie, History, ii, 360; Calderwood, History, i, 318.

123. Scots Peerage, i, 445; iv, 539; viii, 540; Reg. Deeds, ii, fo. 371.

Lethington, Mary's Secretary of State.¹²⁴ Although Atholl supported the regent against the Lords of the Congregation, he and many other nobles, described as the 'protestants of Scotland', were keen to restrict French influence within the country.¹²⁵ At the same time he was also an opponent of English intervention.¹²⁶ In 1559 an assembly of nobles was convened at Aberdeen, at which it was expected that the nobility, including Atholl, would do 'as Huntly advises them'.¹²⁷ However it is unlikely that Atholl, one of the 'disfavourers of the earl of Huntly', would support him and in 1560 he was actually on the verge of joining the protestants, despite his own continued catholicism.¹²⁸ In Jan. 1560-61 he requested a meeting with Lord James Stewart at Dunkeld, where it was agreed that Atholl should have a copy of the contract with England and of the bond between the lords. He also demanded to know whether the lords intended to deprive the queen and whether he and his friends would be forced to renounce their faith.

Despite these overtures to the Lords of the Congregation, Atholl was one of the three temporal lords who voted against the Confession of Faith and vowed to continue to worship as their fathers had done.¹²⁹ Atholl attended parliament only after another meeting with Lord James Stewart at Inverkeithing, and in August when the members of the council were selected Atholl made an unexpected

124. Donaldson, All the Queen's Men, 58-9.

125. CSP Foreign, Elizabeth, 1558-9, no. 908.

126. CSP Scot., i, no. 881.

127. CSP Foreign, Elizabeth, 1559-60, no. 710.

128. Ibid., 1560-1, no. 172.

129. CSP Scot., i, no. 881; Knox, History, i, 338; Calderwood, History, ii, 37.

appearance.¹³⁰ At the end of that month he was again at odds with Huntly, no doubt influenced by yet another meeting with Lord James. Randolph noted 'the Earl of Athole bears so little good will towards Lord Huntly that he will do nothing for any man that favours him' and in September Atholl, Argyll and Lord James formed an alliance against him.¹³¹ Atholl's backing for the proposed marriage between Queen Elizabeth and James Hamilton, 2nd earl of Arran, has been seen as further support for the protestant cause.¹³²

At some stage during the spring of 1561 Atholl and Huntly seem to have sorted out their differences, as while Lord James was in France visiting Mary, the two earls were involved in an attempt to capture Edinburgh for the catholics. They failed, however, to take the city before the pre-arranged date, the opening of parliament.¹³³ On Mary's return to Scotland Atholl was appointed to her privy council and along with Huntly became one of her most trusted councillors.¹³⁴ Huntly, however, overestimated this trust and his offer of support to Mary and Atholl to crush the protestants in Angus was refused.

Atholl's relations with Huntly and Stewart were, to say the least, ambiguous. Before Mary's return to Scotland he had been one of the catholic nobles who had despatched John Leslie to Vitry to warn her about her half-brother, yet during the first year of her reign Atholl and Stewart worked together harmoniously. In 1562

130. CSP Foreign Elizabeth, 1560-1, nos. 418-9.

131. Ibid., 1560-1, nos. 454, 501, 550.

132. Keith, History, ii, 8.

133. Knox, History, i, 356.

134. RPC, i, 157; CSP Foreign Elizabeth, 1561-2, no. 211.

Atholl accompanied Lord James north on the expedition against Huntly. Despite siding with the crown Atholl was believed to have shown muted support for Huntly, but was not prepared to side with him against the queen.¹³⁵ In October Atholl was in the force which defeated Huntly at Strathbogie, nevertheless in the following year both were signatories to the pledge of loyalty sent to Rome, via William Chisholm.¹³⁶

After the fall of Huntly Atholl's influence increased, partly because he was now the leading catholic noble, but also on account of his being 'set forward in court' by Lethington, his brother-in-law.¹³⁷ Atholl also had a powerful ally in Lennox, who after his return in the autumn of 1564 spent much time in Perthshire. It was noted that the two men were 'seldom asunder'.¹³⁸ Atholl and Lennox, who placed 'singular trust' in his fellow catholic, were by 1565 Mary's chief councillors at court, though Riccio also seems to have had considerable influence over the queen.¹³⁹ Mary bestowed various honours on Atholl, who responded with lavish hospitality and hunting expeditions. Most celebrated was the hunt round Loch Lochy on the east side of Beinn a Ghlo at which two thousand Atholl kinsmen were used as beaters.¹⁴⁰ He also received various judicial commissions in Breadalbane at the expense of Huntly, Campbell of Glenorchy and Menzies of Weem. In 1565 he was granted a gift of the fruits of the abbey of Coupar Angus 'as the abbat thair of mycht have

135. CSP Foreign Elizabeth, 1562, no. 718.

136. Ibid., no. 1562, 919; Dowden, Bishops, 223.

137. Knox, History, ii, 85.

138. CSP Foreign Elizabeth, 1564-5, no. 757.

139. Ibid., 1564-5, no. 757; Knox, History, ii, 144, 148, 167.

140. Atholl and Tullibardine, i, 36.

done', until such time as the vacancy was filled and 'ane abbote be lauchfulle provydit thairto'.¹⁴¹ Shortly after Atholl's nominee, Leonard Leslie, was appointed abbot.¹⁴² Atholl also held the fruits of the parishes of Blair Atholl, Killin, Kilmaveonaig, Struan and Lude and of the chaplainries of St Peter in Perth, St Ninian in Dunkeld and Tulliepowrie in Strathtay. In the light of Atholl's continued catholicism it should be noted that in four parishes, Kilmaveonaig, Lude, Moulin and Struan, which lay within the earl's territory, reformed worship was not established until 1574.¹⁴³ As well as castles in Perthshire and the north-east of Scotland Atholl also controlled Tantallon Castle, on the east coast, which had been appropriated from Morton.¹⁴⁴

Atholl was closely involved with Mary's marriage to Darnley and had been present at the original meeting when Lennox, Darnley's father, had suggested to John Leslie, the Lord of Session, that his son should marry the queen. In July 1565 he was responsible for the organisation of the banquet for the wedding.¹⁴⁵ During most of 1565 the court was in chaos, being split into various factions. In March the Lennox faction included Atholl, Caithness and Robert Stewart, ~~one of~~ Mary's ~~other~~ half brothers, 'the greatest enemies of all virtue'.¹⁴⁶ At one stage the court shrunk to just Atholl, who was unwilling to stay as Argyll was threatening to invade his lands in Perthshire.¹⁴⁷

141. RSS, v, nos. 2072, 2229.

142. CA Chrs., ii, 234.

143. TB, 116; Kirk, J., Patterns of Reform, 328-9.

144. Diurnal, 85.

145. Cowan, S., Three Celtic Earldoms (Edinburgh, 1909), 26.

146. Keith, History, ii, 271-2.

147. CSP Foreign Elizabeth, 1564-5, nos. 1115, 1239.

Mary advised the lairds of Angus and the Mearns to assist Atholl and halt Argyll's eastward expansion, however Lethington, Ruthven, Bellenden and St. Colm managed to prevent conflict by persuading the queen to issue a proclamation binding the two nobles to keep the peace.¹⁴⁸ Atholl rose further in Mary's esteem when in July he and Ruthven foiled Moray's attempt to seize her and escorted her safely to Callander House, the seat of William, 6th Lord Livingstone.¹⁴⁹ Following the outbreak of Moray's rebellion in the summer of 1565 Atholl was appointed lieutenant of the North and in October was appointed to lead the rearguard of the force raised to quell the uprising.¹⁵⁰ After Chaseabout Atholl was wooed by Morton, who proposed the marriage of Atholl's son to the countess of Angus.¹⁵¹ In the aftermath of the rebellion Mary replaced many of her councillors and while Atholl remained, his brother-in-law Lethington left 'at the first call'.¹⁵² This standing at court offered Atholl little protection from Argyll, with whom he was forced to seek reconciliation.

After Mary's marriage Atholl, Lennox and Cassillis openly celebrated the mass in her chapel at Holyrood.¹⁵⁴ Another of those celebrating the mass was the Italian David Riccio, of whose

148. Knox, History, ii, 491-2.

149. Cowan, Three Celtic Kingdoms, 26.

150. RPC, i, 357, 379.

151. Cowan, ibid., 26.

152. CSP Foreign Elizabeth, 1564-5, no. 1557.

153. Ibid., 1564-5, no. 1679; Philipppson, M., Histoire du regne de Marie Stuart (1891), iii, 17-18.

154. Knox, History, ii, 174.

murder, in March 1566, Atholl was unaware. On discovering the plot Atholl became involved in a skirmish with Morton and some of his followers. After the deed was done he sought the permission of the crown to leave Holyrood, which was granted on the understanding that he return when required to do so. Those who retreated with him included the Earls of Sutherland and Caithness, the Master of Caithness, the secretary, the comptroller, James Balfour and John Leslie.¹⁵⁵ Atholl and Lethington fled to Perthshire where they remained until the collapse of the conspiracy. Atholl returned to Holyrood, but Lethington was allowed back only after his friend had interposed on his behalf.¹⁵⁶ On his return Atholl joined Mary and Darnley at Dunbar, but fearing the treacherous Darnley removed himself to Linlithgow.¹⁵⁷ Despite joining the Argyll, Moray, Mar faction against Huntly and Bothwell, Atholl was becoming disillusioned with the various intrigues in Edinburgh, and following accusations of witchcraft against his wife, threatened to leave Scotland. Relations between himself and Moray had steadily worsened, however he was persuaded to stay and at the end of the year was a helper at Prince Charles James's catholic baptism.¹⁵⁸ During the ceremony he brought into the church the 'trash'; the salt, grease and candle-wax, and served at the table of the French ambassador at the banquet which followed.¹⁵⁹

155. Skelton, J., Maitland of Lethington (Edinburgh & London, 1894), ii, 174; Melville, Memoirs, 67; Teulet, Papiers d'Etat, ii, 113.

156. CSP Foreign Elizabeth, 1566-8, nos. 242, 677.

157. CSP Venetian, 1558-80, no. 361.

158. CSP Foreign Elizabeth, 1566-8, no. 535.

159. Diurnal, 103-104.

Darnley's murder was also unknown to Atholl. He was in fact on friendly terms with Darnley and Lennox and all three were worried by the rise of James Hepburn, 4th earl of Bothwell. After this second murder Atholl again fled Edinburgh, 'most grieved as he was neere of kin to the king, and the cheefe procurer of the match'.¹⁶⁰ In March 1567 Atholl held a conference at Dunkeld with Moray and Morton, not only to avenge Darnley's murder, but also to bring about the ruin of Bothwell, to which end the nobles signed a bond at Stirling the following month.¹⁶¹ In May Atholl and Mar took an oath to safeguard the young prince, but Lethington was able to persuade the former to give up any idea of leading a party of nobles seeking revenge.¹⁶² Nevertheless the following month he returned to Edinburgh with a large band of kinsmen, however his wrath seems to have diminished slightly as he was now only advocating fines for those involved.¹⁶³

Atholl's defection to the confederate lords came as a great shock to Mary. He was involved in an attempt to capture her and Bothwell at Borthwick Castle, which failed miserably due to his late arrival. Along with Lethington he was present at Carberry Hill, where his troops reputedly cried 'burn the whore'.¹⁶⁴ After the battle he privately assured the queen that he was not a rebel at heart.¹⁶⁵ Nevertheless he advised Mary to abdicate and approved of

160. Calderwood, History, ii, 346.

161. CSP Foreign Elizabeth, 1566-8, nos. 977, 1187; Knox, History, ii, 156; Herries, Memoirs, 93; BL E.G. 1818 fo. 45.

162. CSP Foreign Elizabeth, 1566-8, no. 1170.

163. Diurnal, 113, 115.

164. CSP Foreign Elizabeth, 1566-8, no. 1324.

165. Nau, C., Memorials of Mary Stewart (1883), 47.

her removal to Lochleven Castle.¹⁶⁶ In return for this switch of allegiance he was rewarded with involvement at James VI's coronation, at which he placed the crown on the young king's head.¹⁶⁷ He was also appointed a member of the regency council, which ruled until Moray's return from France.¹⁶⁸

Despite these favours his loyalty was shifting back towards the queen. In March 1568-9 a convention was called for the following April at which the nobles were to discuss 'the question of their attitude to the queen'.¹⁶⁹ Atholl was found to be amongst those who favoured Mary's return to the throne.¹⁷⁰ He was also one of those who voted in favour of Mary's divorce from Bothwell.¹⁷¹ In August 1569 a convention, disguised as a hunting expedition, was held in Dunkeld at which Atholl, Crawford, Ogilvie, Ruthven, Seton and Lethington discussed the queen's home-coming and the overthrow of Moray.¹⁷² A week later Lethington was summoned to Stirling and brought with him Atholl, 'a papist and consulter with witches to intercede for him'.¹⁷³ Atholl's relations with Moray, despite their differences, were surprisingly cordial. However Lethington was accused of the murder of Darnley and warded at Stirling, about which Atholl was 'wonderous heavilie offendit'.¹⁷⁴ The following February he was in Edinburgh attending an assembly concerning the regent's

166. Knox, History, ii, 215; RPC, i, 533.

167. Diurnal, 118.

168. RPC, i, 537, 540.

169. Warrender Papers, i, 61; Calderwood, History, ii, 486.

170. Warrender Papers, i, 83; Calderwood, History, ii, 530.

171. RPC, ii, 8.

172. Diurnal, 147; Hist. King James VI, 42-3; CSP Scot, ii, no. 1134.

173. Calderwood, History, ii, 527.

174. Diurnal, 148.

own murder.¹⁷⁵ Douglas of Lochleven called for summary justice, but Atholl, at the instigation of Lethington, managed to delay the proceedings.¹⁷⁶ The convention continued inconclusively until March, when Atholl and Cassillis 'left the rest in the myre'.¹⁷⁷ On 7 March Atholl, Huntly, Ogilvy, Hume and Seton, 'being all of ane faction mynd' convened a further meeting in Edinburgh. This convention also achieved little and served only to highlight the differences between the nobles, Atholl and Lethington being especially 'bent for the bringing hame of the queen's majestie'. Atholl's keenness confused observers as he was 'appeirandlie as everie man to the king'.¹⁷⁸ A further convention was held at Dunkeld at the end of March after which a letter, subscribed by amongst others Atholl, Argyll, Erroll, Crawford, Ogilvie, Oliphant and Innermeath, was sent to Queen Elizabeth asking her to enter 'in conditions with the queen of Scotland whereat the different claims betwixt her highness and her son may cease from hence forth'.¹⁷⁹

The Queen's Party remained active throughout April trying unsuccessfully to persuade the magistrates of Edinburgh to deliver up the keys of the town. An attempt to convene another meeting in Edinburgh was also unsuccessful as the King's Party declined to attend until after the sitting of parliament in May, although a further Queen's Party convention was held at Linlithgow at

175. Ibid., 157.

176. Calderwood, History, ii, 527.

177. Bannatyne, Memorials, 17.

178. Diurnal, 163, 165.

179. Calderwood, History, ii, 550.

the end of the month.¹⁸⁰ In August Atholl wrote to John Leslie, bishop of Ross, concerning his good will towards the queen, soon after which Lennox's servant, John Moon, was caught in possession of coded letters from Atholl and Lethington to Mary.¹⁸¹ In September the leaders of the Queen's party 'wer at ane counsall in the Balloch above Dunkeld', at Tom-an-t-Siogail, a Menzies stronghold.¹⁸² The actual business of the convention is not known though it would appear that they discussed a letter from Elizabeth concerning Mary's release and agreed upon a response. After the convention Atholl assured the regent that he would remain at the king's obedience, though this assurance was given under a certain amount of duress, as it was reported that 'the lords of the late convention were never in their lives so near a shrewd bargain when they met at the Garth, where a company assembled of the king's freinds, who minded to have cut all their throats had it not been stayed by the Earl of Atholl'.¹⁸³ This convention not only hindered the efforts of the Convention of the Estates, but also gave Lethington a chance to lay 'a plaster to the wound of variance as he could best devise for the time'.¹⁸⁴ Soon after he was denounced as a rebel along with the Prior of Coldingham. During 1570 'the sons party daily decays [and] the mothers party daily increases' and much of the credit must go to Lethington, who attended all the conventions, the majority of

180. Keith, History, ii, 557, 560.

181. CSP Foreign Elizabeth 1569-71, nos. 1191, 1206.

182. Diurnal, 186.

183. Taymouth Bk., 136-7; CSP Foreign Elizabeth, 1569-71, no. 1261.

184. Bannatyne, Memorials, 38.

which were held in Dunkeld, Atholl and Breadalbane.¹⁸⁵

The following year saw a new alliance between Atholl and Huntly and in 1572 Atholl, Argyll and Montrose met in Perth to form a new league. The league had been threatened by the dispute between Atholl and Argyll over the profits of the bishopric of Dunkeld and the fruits of Coupar Angus Abbey. The dispute was resolved with Argyll's nominee being presented to Dunkeld and Atholl retaining control of Coupar Angus. Atholl was also being considered as a potential regent, along with Mar, to which end Atholl and Gray later attempted to block the election of Morton as regent.¹⁸⁶ In 1572 Atholl was under pressure from Morton and threatened to leave for France 'if he be put at for religion'.¹⁸⁷ Shortly after the regent wrote to him demanding he come to the king's obedience 'for it cannot be borne that he remain neutral any longer, and further to abolish his mass or else he must look to abide the penalty of the law'.¹⁸⁸ In April he offered himself to the king's obedience 'but for religion will not look to be pressed against his conscience'.¹⁸⁹ In June he was again warned to submit or feel the smart of the law.¹⁹⁰ Atholl in fact played little part in the events of 1573 and was not involved in the Pacification of Perth. His allies, Huntly and Hamilton, were separated from him, leaving Atholl with no choice other than to submit. His submission was probably insincere as 'na man could

185. CSP Scot, iii, no. 190; Bannatyne, Memorials, 22.

186. CSP Foreign Elizabeth, 1572-4, nos. 402-3.

187. Ibid., 1572-4, no. 819.

188. Ibid., 1572-4, no. 826.

189. Ibid., 1572-4, no. 871.

190. Ibid., 1572-4, no. 1047.

judge whais faction he inclynit maist unto'.¹⁹¹ Lethington escaped the smart of the law by dying shortly after the fall of Edinburgh Castle and the collapse of the Marian party in late May 1573.¹⁹²

In 1574 the General Assembly put pressure on James Paton, bishop of Dunkeld, to help Atholl resolve his religious doubts. Paton was faced with a thankless task as both Atholl and his wife were undeterred by the threats of excommunication. However he was able to report that the earl had desired 'some conference of godly and learned men to the effect that he might be resolved in such doubts of religion as presently move him'.¹⁹³ Atholl, but not his wife, finally conformed in 1578, when he 'suddenly became a most earnest protestant'.¹⁹⁴ His conversion was not the result of any genuine religious enlightenment, but more a reaction to the threat of Morton's new highland policy, the power of Huntly and in anticipation of his appointment as chancellor of Scotland.

A further threat to Atholl was the expansionism of Argyll. The relationship between the two nobles epitomises the complicated relationships which grew up amongst the Scottish nobility. Two particular areas of contention were the revenues of the abbey of Coupar Angus and the bishopric of Dunkeld. Allied to the financial benefits was the political prestige attached to the parliamentary seats held by the heads of each house. In 1562-3 Argyll was given two-thirds of the revenues of Coupar Angus, which he was to hold

191. CSP Scot., iv, no. 605; RPC, ii, 211; Diurnal, 329; Hist. King James VI, 141.

192. CSP Scot., iv, no. 692.

193. BUK, i, 314, 341.

194. Ibid., ii, 421; CSP Foreign Elizabeth, 1578-9, no. 245.

as freely as his kinsman Donald Campbell, the last abbot.¹⁹⁵ Two years later, as a part of a judicial commission, Atholl received 'all and haill the lands pertaining to the abbot and convent of Cupar, liand within the earldom of Athole', and in 1565, in recognition of services to the crown and of Argyll's support of Moray's opposition to Mary's marriage to Darnley, was granted the right of appointment to the abbey.¹⁹⁶ The various disputes between Atholl, Argyll and Ogilvie lasted for almost fifty years and led to violent feuding during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.¹⁹⁷ In 1565, shortly before Mary's marriage to Darnley, Argyll had planned to invade Atholl, but was prevented from doing so by royal proclamation.¹⁹⁸ By the following year the two had temporarily settled their differences in order to curb the power of Huntly and Bothwell, but after the murder of Riccio Atholl fled Edinburgh fearing repercussions from Argyll and Moray.¹⁹⁹ In 1567 both nobles were signatories to a bond to 'pursue the queen's liberty' from captivity at Dunbar.²⁰⁰ Relations remained strained, however in 1570 they were both still members of the Queen's Party and the signing of a bond against the McGregors ended their dispute over Coupar Angus.²⁰¹ The rise of Atholl also threatened Campbell of Glenorchy, who had joined Moray and Argyll during the Chaseabout Raid. During the second half of the 1560s he was under pressure from

195. RSS, v, nos. 1069, 1198.

196. RPC, ii, 698-700; CA Chrs, ii, 234.

197. RPC, i, 380, 385; CSP Scot., x, no. 606.

198. Knox, History, ii, 491-2; CSP Foreign Elizabeth, 1564-5, nos. 1289, 1679.

199. CSP Scot., ii, no. 400; Teulet, Papiers d'Etat, ii, 113.

200. CSP Scot., ii, nos. 501-2; Argyll MSS vol 4/68.

201. Wormald, Lords and Men in Scotland, 389; Taymouth Bk., 213-4.

the Atholl grouping, which included Menzies, Grandtully and Tullibardine.²⁰²

Although close links existed between the Stewarts of Atholl and the bishops of Dunkeld it is difficult to find many real ties between John Stewart, 4th earl of Atholl and Bishop Robert Crichton. In 1526 an indenture was signed between Bishop George Crichton and the third earl 'to protect the said bishop's lands from intruders and enemies'.²⁰³ A similar bond was signed between the fourth earl and Robert Crichton in 1558 by which Atholl was to defend the see in return for an annual payment of 100 merks.²⁰⁴ However in the light of the intense political activity of the 1560s and the continued catholicism of both parties it is surprising that more apparent links did not exist. Dealings between the two during the post-Reformation period appear to have been of a financial nature, in the form of routine transfers of property and disputes over church dues.²⁰⁵ No evidence is available to link the two men in any form of recusant activity.

By 1572 the relationship was threatened by another dispute over the revenues of Dunkeld, which culminated in the appointment of Argyll's nominee, James Paton, to the bishopric and the appointment of Argyll as chamberlain of the cathedral.²⁰⁶ A more pressing problem during the 1570s was the rise of Morton, but the prospect of unified opposition was threatened by yet another private quarrel and

202. MacGregor, M., *A Political History of the MacGregors before 1571* (Edinburgh Ph.D. 1989), 343-9.

203. *HMC Menzies*, 712.

204. *Wormald, op.cit.*, 388;

205. *Atholl and Tullibardine*, v, p. lx-lxiv; *Reg. Deeds*, iii, fo. 409; SRO CH8/22; SRO Tods, Murray & Jamieson GD 237/64.

206. Watt, *Fasti*, 99-100; *RPC*, ii, 172; *RSS*, vi, nos. 1421, 1820.

in 1573 the two were charged by the privy council to keep the peace.²⁰⁷

Their disputes during the late 1570s were, at root, the result of Mary's commission of 1564 exempting Atholl from Argyll's justiciary and allowing him jurisdiction within his own territories.²⁰⁸ The situation was aggravated when Atholl seized a kinsman of Argyll, charged with committing a crime in Atholl territory. There were also reports of 'slaughter and utheris enormities happynit betwix the freindis, servandis and dependaris of the Erllis of Ergyle and Atholl'.²⁰⁹ In 1576 Morton asked James Menzies to mediate between the two earls and in the following year he was able to report that Atholl was prepared to settle privately and 'not to seik the circumstance of the law'.²¹⁰ Morton's request that the two earls disband their armies was in fact counter-productive as he himself became the focus of their discontent. Despite the apparent cessation of hostilities the feuding continued, exacerbated this time by the activities of two Cameron brothers imprisoned by Atholl for 'diverse slaughters, heirschippis and oppressionis upoun certane the said Erllis men, tenentis and servandis'.²¹¹ The two Camerons were Campbell dependants and their release was secured by the earl, with the assistance of John Campbell of Caddell.²¹² Attempts by Morton to mediate were again unsuccessful and his

207. Spottiswoode, History, ii, 205; Hist. King James VI, 158-60; RPC, ii, 553.

208. SRO Breadalbane Muns. GD 112/1/132a; RPC, i, 256-7.

209. RPC, ii, 533, 538-9, 546; TA, xiii, 133-4.

210. HMC Menzies, 696-7.

211. RPC, ii, 587-8.

212. RPC, ii, 661.

attempts to quash Argyll were diverted by a confederacy against him headed by Atholl, Ruthven and Lindsay.²¹³ In October 1577 Atholl and Argyll put aside their differences and joined with Mar in defence of the king.²¹⁴ In December of that year Atholl was described as 'a Papist, and chiefly by his wife's means, for many hope that he will be hereafter a protestant ... He greatly favours the King and is the chief of all the confederates for the maintenance of the King'.²¹⁵ Morton's meddling in their feud led to a continued shelving of their differences and an attempted coup against the regent at Stirling in March 1578. Atholl and Argyll issued a proclamation for the 'reform of the enormities and extorsiones' of Morton's regency and Randolph reported to Queen Elizabeth that the two earls had been reconciled.²¹⁶ For some time Atholl had been quoted as a possible regent: 'some would have Atholl, because he is a Stewart, but the protestants mislike him altogether'.²¹⁷ In an account of 1589, ten years after his death, Atholl is described as having been 'sometime Regent'. Despite this rivalry over the regency the English government was keen to promote an Atholl-Morton alliance against Argyll and Elizabeth sought to mediate between the two.²¹⁸ In March 1578 Atholl was appointed chancellor of Scotland and was listed first in the sederunt of the Privy Council, 'notwithstanding the order reserving that place always for the Earl of Morton.... He had made up his mind ... becoming reconciled with Morton'.²¹⁸ As chancellor

213. HMC Hastings, ii, 10.

214. HMC Cecil, ii, 162.

215. CSP Scot, v, no. 284.

216. Ibid., v, no. 305.

217. Ibid., iv, no. 788.

218. Ibid., v, nos. 283, 295, 348; Warrender Papers, i, 137.

Atholl was able to keep Morton in check and counter the attempts to separate him from Argyll.²²⁰

Morton was forced to accept both nobles in the new council, however the threat from Atholl was short-lived as after a reconciliation dinner in April 1579 he died of a mysterious illness. Morton was suspected of having poisoned his new ally, however Atholl's health had been deteriorating for some time and he had earlier applied to go abroad to recuperate.²²¹ In May 1578 after the Morton coup Atholl sought 'leave to go to the spa for his health, because his business, though he be chancellor, at home goes not well', and just one month before his death he was late for the parliament at Stirling on account of ill-health.²²² A report at the time claimed that 'the poison was so plainly detected that ... there was not a doubt on the subject'. Atholl's son also believed he was murdered 'threw venemus and extreme poyson'.²²³ The poison claim was confirmed by a post-mortem at which one of those present, a Doctor Preston, put his tongue on the contents of the stomach and 'almost died, and was after, so long as he lived, sickly'.²²⁴ The fact that Lady Atholl was also ill, but did not die, is perhaps an indication of her husband's poor health and his over-indulgence of 'haggis, friars partens, sheephead and cockie-leekie'.²²⁵ At his trial Morton strenuously denied any responsibility and expressed revulsion at the use of poison. Even when faced with execution

219. RPC, iii, 116n.

220. HMC Hastings, ii, 13; CSP Scot., v, no. 365.

221. NLS (Atholl) no. 3157; APS, iii, 175-6; Calderwood, History, iii, 443; RPC, iii, 184-5.

222. CSP Scot., v, no. 348; Moysie, Memoirs, 20.

223. HMC Atholl, 24; Moysie, Memoirs, 20-21.

224. Calderwood, History, iii, 443.

225. APS, iii, 175-6.

Morton denied any involvement.²²⁶ However Atholl's death had left him with a feeling of 'securite from the dangers of any great enemies in Scotland'.²²⁷

Atholl was buried at St. Giles' in Edinburgh and the General Assembly was keen that the ceremony did not smack of papistry, ensuring that 'all superstitioun be avoided thereat'.²²⁸ John Row and John Durie reported certain 'superstitious rites quilk were prepared for the buriall, as a whyt cross in the mort claith, long gownes with stroupes and torches'.²²⁹ In a letter to John Stewart, 5th earl of Atholl, James VI declared that the fourth earl 'suld be placed in buriall ewest others, and that in sic honorable and publict places as we mycht the rather be moved to remember theme and ther gude service'. He was to be buried 'ewist our dearest uncle and agent of gude memorie, the erll of Murray, quhilk we doubt no Athole and thame salbe honorable for zou, and it ws it wilbe acceptable'.²³⁰ In his last will and testament Atholl urged his son 'to keip friendship and kindness with my Lord Earle of Argyle and that house in respect of the proximitie of blude standand betwixt thame and grit friendship continowit betwix us all our forberis'. He also advised his son to be wise in the making of promises and 'keip trewlie what he promises: for trewth has borne me fordwart in my causes to this hour'.²³¹ His death was mourned by many catholics, who despite his

226. CSP Scot., vi, no. 26.

227. Hist. King James VI, 177.

228. HMC Atholl, 9.

229. BUK, ii, 431.

230. HMC Atholl, 9.

231. SRO Dalguise Muns. GD 38/1/69.

inconsistency still regarded him as their leader. His demise was seen as a 'grievous loss to our cause', but the catholics were sure God would 'raise us up another saviour'.²³²

Atholl's son the fifth earl was certainly not the catholics' new saviour. Although he 'believed as his father had believed' and was described by the Jesuit Robert Abercrombie as a loyal catholic his zeal was exaggerated. In 1583 he was noted as 'a man of little valeur or accompte, in religion suspected'.²³³ Politically Atholl did not follow his father's advice and sided with Ruthven rather than Argyll. The latter was notably absent from a convention held at Dunkeld in May 1579, however it was still hoped that Atholl would marry a daughter of the house of Argyll.²³⁴ Atholl in fact married Ruthven's daughter, at a time when Ruthven was a supporter of Morton.²³⁵ His reaction to the Ruthven Raid suggests that he had disassociated himself from his catholic upbringing and was thereafter inclined to act in unison with his protestant neighbours.²³⁶ In 1585 he was described by Francis Walsingham as 'affected to England', but was also one of those who 'desires to draw course be France'.²³⁷

His mother was a much more forceful character and was described by Robert Abercrombie as 'a most catholic lady, very prudent and devout'.²³⁸ In 1582 the General Assembly was continuing proceedings

232. Forbes-Leith, Narratives, 136, 138.

233. Anderson, W.J., 'Narratives of the Scottish Reformation', IR, vii (1956), 82; An Estimate of the Scottish Nobility during the Minority of James VI, 32.

234. HMC Cecil, ii, 256; CSP Scot., v, no. 409.

235. Scots Peerage, i, 446; CSP Scot., v, no. 445.

236. CSP Scot., vi, no. 258.

237. An Estimate of the Scottish Nobility during the Minority of James VI, 54.

238. Anderson, 'Narratives of the Scottish Reformation', 32.

against her to 'remove from her company all excommunicat persons and papists'.²³⁹ Later in the year she was excommunicated despite the 'pretended subscriptione she gave to the confession of her faith'. Her daughter was equally unpopular and was accused of 'witchcraft, seductiveness, rapacity, and one knows not what other crimes'. She was described as 'the monster of nature' and the 'most awful Scottish woman of her generation'.²⁴⁰ As a result of the inadequacies of the fifth earl the house of Atholl fell into decay. In 1595 Innermeath inherited the title following the extinction of the original Stewart line and in 1629 it passed again to the Murrays of Tullibardine.²⁴¹

The main problem in trying to assess John Stewart, 4th earl of Atholl, was his inconsistency. His motivation seems to have been mainly political, however there is no doubt that religion did play a part in his affairs. In 1564 Pius IV commended Atholl for his obedience to the catholic church and the Holy See and in 1566 he was mentioned by the Bishop of Dunblane in a list of catholic nobles.²⁴² However he was also described by the Bishop of Mondovi as one of those who were 'so lukewarm in the matter of religion, they have ever preferred their particular interest to the public good'.²⁴³ His political ambition must have made him look like one of those who supported catholicism 'not for love but hoping promotion'.²⁴⁴ Equally inconsistent was his political career, which was dominated by

239. BUK, ii, 531.

240. Calderwood, History, iv, 410-11; RPC, iii, pp. lviii, 57.

241. Scots Peerage, i, 446-8, 469.

242. CSP Rome, 1558-71, no. 309; Papal Negs., 253-5.

243. Papal Negs., 370.

244. CSP Scot., iii, no. 123.

his readiness to switch between the Marian and King's Parties. This inconsistency makes it very difficult to understand his various relationships with Huntly, Moray and Argyll, with whom he was continually falling-out. Atholl was not only inconsistent but also incompetent and was condemned by protestants and catholics alike for his lack of commendable qualities. Calderwood referred to him as 'obtuiat and witlesse', while his contemporaries Randolph and Knox described him as 'obstinate and singular' and as a 'man of gross judgement'.²⁴⁵ In 1565 the French ambassador described him as a 'tres grand catholique, hardy *et* vaillant et remnant, comme l'on dict, mais de nul jugement et experience'.²⁴⁶ Under such leadership it would have been hard to conceive the catholic party mounting an effective challenge to either the progress of the kirk or to the King's Party.

Less prominent, but at times more useful contributors to the catholic cause, were the Abercrombies of Murthly. The family owned lands in Perthshire and Fife, some of which were acquired from Robert Crichton and the cathedral chapter.²⁴⁷ The Abercrombies were staunch catholics and Marians, being related to the queen. In 1565 Alexander Abercrombie of Murthly was procurator for Robert Crichton, who also had close links with Abercrombie's sons, Robert and Andrew. Throughout the post-Reformation period Abercrombie played host to numerous recusant clergy, including his sons, Robert, the pre-Reformation treasurer at Dunkeld and later Jesuit, and Andrew,

245. Calderwood, History, ii, 526; CSP Foreign Elizabeth, 1560-1, no. 418; Knox, History, ii, 167.

246. Teulet, Papiers d'Etat, ii, 76.

247. RSS, v, no. 790; Fraser, Grandtully, i, 88, 102.

the Dominican friar. In 1573 he was summoned to appear before the privy council, along with Robert Crichton of Eliok and Robert Boyd, Bishop Crichton's servant, 'to answer to sic thingis selbe inquirit of them', the topic of discussion presumably being the bishop.²⁴⁸ Other kinsmen included Thomas Abercrombie of Middle Gourdie, 'a defender of papistrie [and] receiver of Jesuites' and Andrew Abercrombie of Pettlepy, who owned a manse in Dunkeld and acted as a messenger for the Marian party.²⁴⁹

Nearby Innernytie was also a small catholic enclave. The Crichtons of Innernytie were a minor catholic family, whose kinsmen included Bishop Robert Crichton and the Jesuit, William Crichton.²⁵⁰ James Elphinstone of Innernytie was a notorious papist and was excommunicated sometime prior to 1595. Elphinstone was a judge of the Court of Session and following a spell as secretary of state was created Lord Balmerino in 1604. His religious conformity was ensured by his wife who was a protestant, despite the accusations of papistry levelled against her.²⁵¹

Despite the influence of Atholl and Bishop Crichton Dunkeld and the surrounding area was by no means a catholic stronghold. There were a number of lesser-ranking protestant lairds, including a kinsman of the bishop, Robert Crichton of Eliok. Despite their dispute over the lands of Clunie Bishop Crichton spoke favourably of the moral and financial support received from Eliok, which was of

248. TA, xii, 172v, 380.

249. BUK, ii, 719; RMS, v, no. 70.

250. It is in fact unclear whether William Crichton belonged to the family of Innernytie, Ruthvens or Camnay.

251. Brunton and Haig, Senators, 206-12.

252. RMS, iv, no. 2495.

'great and necessary assistance to him and on behalf of the liberty of the church'.²⁵² In order to preserve his own lands Eliok joined the rebellion against Mary, but later swithered between the Queen's and the King's Parties.²⁵³ Another whose protestantism may have been motivated by self-preservation was John Stewart of Airtully. The Stewarts had a long-standing relationship with the bishops of Dunkeld. During the sixteenth century numerous grants of land were made between the two and in 1558 John Stewart was one of Robert Crichton's cautioners.²⁵⁴ Nevertheless in 1560 he was one of two lairds instructed by the Lords of the Congregation to sack Dunkeld Cathedral. The threat of repercussions at the hands of Argyll, Ruthven and Lord James may have been as powerful a motive as any anti-catholic sentiments. The relationship with the cathedral was resumed during the post-Reformation period with Robert Crichton and James Paton.²⁵⁵ Tradition affirms that what Kinvaid and Airtully left intact another local laird, Stewart of Cardney, demolished.

Despite the continued catholicism of Robert Crichton and his influence over the chapter at Dunkeld it would be wrong to imply that the local lairds were likewise influenced by the bishop. There is no evidence to suggest that a higher proportion of Dunkeld lairds were catholic or of any close religious affiliation between them and the cathedral. The Abercrombies of Murthly were one of the few

253. Brunton and Haig, Senators, 176; Omond, G.W.T., Lord Advocates of Scotland (Edinburgh, 1883), i, 36.

254. SRO Menzies of Culdares, Stewart of Cardney Papers, GD 1/446/1, 2 and 5.

255. Ibid., GD 1/446/8, 12, 15, 26 and 27; Cal. Chrs., no. 2047B.

consistently catholic families with links with Crichton, while few others seem to have maintained such a relationship. The lack of any obvious bond between Atholl and Crichton must have been a cause for concern for, and a factor in limiting the support of, other potential recusant lairds. Around Dunkeld the protestant lairds were in the majority and the actions of local lairds, such as Kinvaid, Airntully and Cardney, would suggest that they were under considerable pressure from more powerful neighbours, such as Argyll and Ruthven.

The bloodfeud recognised no boundaries and was as prevalent in lowland society as in highland. The situation in Strathearn was very complicated and more unsettled than in some of the remoter areas of the diocese. Unlike Breadalbane or Dunkeld which were dominated by an individual family Strathearn comprised a number of middle-ranking nobles and lairds. The valley was predominantly protestant, however there was a scattering of catholic lairds, the most important being Laurence, 4th Lord Oliphant. The leading protestant noble was William, 4th Lord Ruthven, who in 1581 was created Earl of Gowrie. The close proximity of these two nobles and their rivalry at court ensured that local feuding continued for many years. The other leading nobles included Murray of Tullibardine, Stewart of Innermeath and Haldane of Gleneagles, who although they wielded little power within Dunkeld parishes played an important role in the religious and social life of surrounding parishes.

The Oliphants held extensive lands in Perthshire and Caithness, including the lands of Aberdalgie and Dupplin, which they had held

since the thirteenth century.²⁵⁶ During the thirteenth century they were also hereditary baillies of the Augustinian house of Inchaffray, in the parish of Madderty.²⁵⁷ Although for a time the third and fourth *Lords* played a leading role at Queen Mary's court an account of the family states that there were 'few gentlemen of his surname and soe of small power, yet a house very loyall to the state of Scotland, accounted no orators in their words, nor yet fooles in their deeds. They do not surmount their alliance but content with their worshipfull neighbours'.²⁵⁸ Their continued adherence to the catholic faith posed little threat to the reformers as the family had few supporters, despite Laurence, 3rd Lord Oliphant (d.1566) being a privy councillor.²⁵⁹ His son Laurence, the fourth *lord* (1529-93) married the daughter of the catholic Earl of Erroll and for a short time was one of Mary's leading advisors. During Bothwell's ascendancy he found favour at court and later served on the assize which found Bothwell innocent of Darnley's murder.²⁶⁰ He also attended the convention at Perth at which he voted against Mary's divorce from Bothwell.²⁶¹ During the summer of 1567 he was one of the few nobles at court, however his prominence was short-lived and waned with Mary's surrender at Carberry. In the same year he was one of the signatories of the Ainslie Bond in favour of Bothwell and

256. Scots Peerage, vi, 529.

257. Inchaffray Liber, xv; Inchaffray Chrs., lxviii, 159.

258. RMS, iv, nos. 745, 1862; Anderson, J., The Oliphants in Scotland (Edinburgh, 1879), liii; Graham, E.M., The Oliphants of Gask (London, 1910), 61; An Estimate of the Scottish Nobility during the Minority of James VI, 18.

259. RPC, i, 347, 509.

260. Knox, History, ii, 204; CSP Scot., ii, no. 488; Diurnal, 108.

261. RPC, ii, 8.

in the following year of the Langside and Dumbarton Bonds in favour of the queen.²⁶² During this period he remained a staunch catholic, but shifted his political allegiance towards the King's Party.²⁶³ In 1568 he was at the horn for failing to appear before the privy council to answer charges brought against him for siding with Mary at Langside. In 1569 he was one of sixteen nobles appointed by Mary at Bolton to act as advisors, but in the same year signed a bond in favour of the king and in 1570 accompanied Moray to Inverness on the king's business.²⁶⁴ His transfer of allegiance was obviously an uneasy one as in that year he also attended a meeting of the Queen's Party, convened at Linlithgow.²⁶⁵ In 1571 he is listed as a King's Man but in late 1572 or 1573, following Morton's succession to the regency, he became a more committed member of the anti-Marian party.²⁶⁶ The switch was no doubt a matter of political expediency, coupled with the fact that the two men were related by marriage.²⁶⁷

The statement that the Oliphants were 'content with their worshipfull neighbours' was not strictly true. The family, in trying to retain catholic worship and protect its lands, was involved in numerous disputes with local clergymen and lairds. In 1564 Laurence senior had 'sticked the doores of the kirks' of Aberdalgie and Dupplin in an attempt to prevent protestant worship.²⁶⁸ In 1571

262. Donaldson, All the Queen's Men, 165.

263. Papal Negs., 255.

264. Labanoff, A., Lettres de Marie Stuart (London, 1845), ii, 271; RPC, i, 654, 670; Papers Illustrating the Reigns of Mary Queen of Scots and James VI, 63.

265. CSP Scot., iii, no. 182; Diurnal, 168.

266. CSP Scot., iii, no. 895; CSP Foreign Elizabeth, 1572-4, no. 761; RPC, ii, 135.

267. Scots Peerage, vi, 547.

268. BUK, i, 53.

his son attempted to replace the local minister, William Melrose, with a catholic priest, Sir John Kerr.²⁶⁹ Some of Oliphant's followers 'masterfullie destroyit and put to the ground his haill chalmer', leaving Melrose 'utterlie destitute of a place quhairon he mycht studie'. Oliphant was compelled to pay £30 damages and to allow Melrose to gather materials for the repair of his manse from the lord's estate. Although the dispute had religious overtones, Oliphant was equally interested in the financial benefit to be gained from control of the vicarage.²⁷⁰

Oliphant was also involved in disputes over the lands of Aberdalgie and Dupplin with his neighbours Moncrieff of that Ilk, Ross of Craig, Methven, Murray of Tibbermore and Ruthven. In 1567 a dispute with Ruthven and Murray led to a raid by the former on Oliphant's house and to fifteen years of bad relations. The differences between Oliphant and Ruthven were both religious and political. William, 4th Lord Ruthven, was protestant and pro-English and, despite a personal feud with the Stewarts which originated with his father's implication in the murder of Riccio, became treasurer in 1571.²⁷¹ As treasurer he was able to make some impression on the debt outstanding from the civil war and at the same time amassed a small personal fortune, mainly from the lands of Scone Abbey. His elevation to the earldom of Gowrie in 1581 was no doubt in recognition of his success in this office.

269. RPC, ii, 135.

270. Ibid., xiv, 109, 110.

271. RSS, vi, no. 1191.

At local level the disputes between the two nobles were often over the ownership of teinds. Oliphant was not the only target of Ruthven, who in 1572 feuded with Bruce of Clackmannan over the same issue. In the following year the privy council appointed a neutral to gather the teinds until ownership was decided and to prevent the 'grit blude shed, deidlie feid and utheris inconvenientis happynnit' of the previous harvest.²⁷² His feud with Oliphant was exacerbated in 1580 when the catholic noble ambushed Ruthven and some Stewart kinsmen returning from the earl of Mar's wedding. In the course of the ambush Alexander Stewart of Schutingleyis, the brother of Stewart of Traquair, was killed.²⁷³ Oliphant was summoned before the privy council, warded in Doune Castle and charged with murder.²⁷⁴ He was eventually acquitted, however the trial was most damaging for Morton and Douglas of Lochleven, who were involved in Oliphant's defence. The late 1570s and early 1580s, when Ruthven played a prominent role in government, saw a shift in the balance of power in Strathearn. After the dispersal of his power base during the 1570s Oliphant was forced to rely more heavily on Ruthven, as was Stewart of Innermeath.²⁷⁵ Like many others vying for political power Ruthven's ascendancy was short-lived. In 1582 he was leader of the Ruthven Raid involving the seizure of King James VI and in 1584 was part of the attempt to seize Stirling Castle, for which he was executed in the same year.

272. RPC, ii, 273.

273. Hist of King James VI, 80; Pitcairn, Trials, i, pt.2, 89-92; RPC, iii, 329; Calderwood, History, iii, 479; Moysie, Memoirs, 28.

274. RPC, iii, 329, 333-4.

275. CSP Scot., v, nos. 284-5; Bannatyne Misc., i, 65.

David, 5th Lord Drummond played little part in national affairs, preferring to remain relatively obscure. The extent of his power was not great and his kin comprised an 'iland of frendis in Stratherin and others not of great power'.²⁷⁶ He was not an overtly enthusiastic supporter of the Reformation and his allegiance to the reformed faith was not always apparent. Although an early supporter of the Lords of the Congregation his support was often absent during the 1560s. At the Reformation he sided with Huntly on religious matters, although he had been 'one of the principal that set St. Johnston at Liberty'.²⁷⁷ In 1560, in a list of nobles denoting religious allegiance, he was described as 'neutar' and as one of those of whom it was not known 'to whatever parte they will encline'.²⁷⁸ His inactivity annoyed Argyll, who was particularly angered by his failure to supply troops for the siege of Leith in the spring of 1560. Drummond excused himself by claiming that he was 'bot ane young man ... and als my frendis will nocht pas with me bot gif I mak thair expensis'. He also played little part in the latter stages of the rebellion and arrived late for the Reformation Parliament, while also encouraging other Drummond lairds not to attend. Prior to the Reformation he had been a supporter of Mary of Guise and thereafter remained loyal to her daughter. In 1566 he was advisor to the queen's comptroller regarding the repairing of her strongholds.²⁷⁹ In 1568 he was a signatory of the Langside and

276. An Estimate of the Scottish Nobility during the Minority of James VI, 17, 37.

277. CSP Scot., i, nos. 480, 647.

278. Hamilton Papers, ii, append., p. xxxix.

279. RPC, i, 446; Anderson, The Oliphants in Scotland, 135.

Dumbarton bonds confirming his allegiance to the queen. In 1570 he was included in a list of her supporters compiled by the Archbishop of Glasgow.²⁸⁰ Mary, who referred to Drummond as her 'powerful defender', was a regular visitor at Drummond Castle and Drymen, accompanied by Darnley and later Bothwell.²⁸¹ As with many of his Marian colleagues Drummond changed sides around the start of the 1570s and in 1571 he is listed as a King's Man.²⁸²

Although he showed little enthusiasm for reform he was associated with several protestant clergy. He was involved in a long-running dispute with William Drummond, his chaplain and servant since 1530.²⁸³ This dispute over the lands of Auchinglen and Kynbrokke was resolved when William Drummond was bought off with an annual pension of £20. In 1561 he became reader of Cargill and seems to have borne no animosity towards his superior and former protagonist Lord Drummond.²⁸⁴ Another William Drummond, also a kinsman of the earl, was exhorter and later minister of Crieff, Comrie, Strogeith, Tullichedil, Moonzie and Monzievaird between 1564 and 1589.²⁸⁵ Another of Drummond's servants, John Hume, became a reformed church clergyman.²⁸⁶ Hume, a former chaplain of Inchaffray, was exhorter of Madderty from 1564 until

280. Warrender Papers, i, 82.

281. RSS, v, nos. 3155, 3157; Inchaffray Chrs., 246-7.

282. CSP Scot., iii, no. 895.

283. SRO Drummond Castle Papers GD 160 box 2 bdle 4; RMS, iii, no. 2531; RSS, ii, no. 4384.

284. Assump., 304; TB., 92, 150, 250, 253-4; Reg. Min. 19; Wod. Misc., 354.

285. TB., 250, 252; Wod. Misc., 359; Reg. Min., 28, 81, RSS., Ixiv, fo. 45.

286. Inchaffray Chrs., 164.

1572.²⁸⁷ Drummond's wife, however, was more politically and religiously active and promised the Lords of the Congregation the support of her eldest son.²⁸⁸ Patrick, 6th Lord Drummond, who succeeded in 1571, displayed a certain amount of political realism in ending his father's disputes with the Campbells, which had included his feud with Glenorchy, who had usurped Drummond's authority as Steward of Strathearn.²⁸⁹ The bonds with Argyll in 1573 and 1579 were followed by another with Glenorchy in 1584.²⁹⁰

Other leading protestants in Strathearn included various branches of the Murray family. William Murray, 8th laird of Tullibardine, was one of the Lords of the Congregation and an active protestant since the 1540s.²⁹¹ His son was also prominent within the Congregation, but during the 1560s and 1570s flitted between the King's and Queen's Parties.²⁹² Murray wielded considerable power, carrying with him the Murrays of Abercairney, Cockspow, Pardewis, Polmaise, Touchadam and Tibbermore. Patrick Murray of Tibbermore, another early protestant, was described by Knox as 'a man fervent in religion and that boldly had sustained all dangers in the trouble'.²⁹³ Less influential, but equally zealous, were the Haldanes of Gleneagles, who 'in the long and arduous struggle which

287. Ibid., Append. no. ix; Scott, Fasti, viii, 382; Reg. Min., 29; TB, 252.

288. CSP Scot., i, no. 812.

289. SRO Drummond Castle papers GD 160 box 2 bndle 4; Scots Peerage, vii, 47.

290. Argyll MSS vol. 4/116; SRO Drummond Castle Papers GD 160 box 3 bdle 4; Taymouth Bk., 227.

291. Taymouth Bk., 131.

292. Donaldson, All the Queen's Men, 106; Milne, R., The Rental Book of King James VI Hospital (Perth, 1891), vi; Warrender Papers, i, 82.

293. Knox, History, i, 179.

ensued ... took a consistent and determined part on the side of religious freedom'.²⁹⁴ The Stewarts of Innermeath, despite being dependants of Ruthven, were luke-warm protestants.²⁹⁵ They would appear to have been 'of no great power, of indifferent living, no great undertakers, but quiet in their country' and no threat to the King's Party.²⁹⁶ Throughout the post-Reformation period their faith was in doubt. The fourth and sixth lairds were thought to be papists, as was the sixth laird's brother, who in 1600 was excommunicated.²⁹⁷

The idea of 'parochial anarchy' has been applied previously in relation to the establishment of the kirk within Dunkeld. This concept can also be used when analysing the nobles and lairds. During the course of the sixteenth century, the balance of power within the diocese fluctuated continually, but was dominated in the main by the Argyll and Atholl kin groups. Although patterns of political and religious alignment are apparent, exceptions can be found within every area. Even within staunchly protestant localities, such as Strathtay, catholic families survived, and vice-versa.

The lack of high-ranking nobles had little bearing on the establishment of reformed worship within the diocese. The pursuit of national power led to a great deal of inconsistency amongst the

294. Haldane, J.A.L., The Haldanes of Gleneagles (London, 1929), 45.

295. CSP Scot, v, no. 284; Papal Negs., 255.

296. An Estimate of the Scottish Nobility during the Minority of James VI, 22.

297. CSP Scot, ix, no. 576; Meldrum, N., Forteviot: The History of a Strathearn Parish (Paisley, 1926), 204.

more powerful families and the fifty years following the Reformation saw numerous shifts in the balance of political and religious power. Few Dunkeld nobles gave wholehearted support to the Reformation or to any political group, and some, such as Atholl and Oliphant, switched sides on a regular basis. Public conformity and private non-conformity was not uncommon as approximately one third of the nobility remained catholic. With others, such as Drummond and Innermeath, it is difficult to assess their affiliations and one can only assume adherence to the kirk. By the turn of the century only the Oliphants and the Abercrombies can be said to have shown any religious consistency, having remained catholic throughout.

In Dunkeld, as elsewhere in Scotland, the lesser lairds were the real 'movers' of reform. The over-involvement of the nobles with court-life and government meant that effective local power was exercised by lesser-ranking lairds, such as Campbell of Glenorchy. In Angus there was a large number of protestant lairds, such as Carnegie of Kinnaird and Erskine of Dun, and in Dunblane it was lairds of this class who were 'to form the real strength of the kirk in the second half of the century'.²⁹⁸ Even around Dunkeld itself, where the cathedral chapter remained catholic and where the mass was still being openly celebrated during the 1570s, the majority of local lairds were protestant.

298. Bardgett, F.D., Scotland Reformed: The Reformation in Angus and Mearns (Edinburgh, 1989), 102, 116; Todd, J.R., The Reformation in the Diocese of Dunblane (Edinburgh Ph.D, 1973), iii.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE RELIGIOUS HOUSES AND THE DIOCESE OF DUNKELD

The involvement of those monastic houses connected with the diocese of Dunkeld at the time of the Reformation was limited and can best be understood in relation to Scottish monasticism as a whole. The state of the monastic orders on the eve of the Reformation is open to considerable debate. They have been described as moribund and out of touch and the monasteries themselves as being little more than 'property owning corporations'.¹ Aside from criticism of their comfortable lifestyle and neglect of some of their buildings contemporary commentators could find little damning evidence against the monastic orders. Sir David Lindsay, John Knox and Ninian Winzet, who were all critics of the pre-Reformation church, make little general criticism of the monasteries and only single out individual abbots or houses.² But while there is evidence of decline and opposition to reform there was also considerable revitalisation within some houses. A different and more generous viewpoint claims that the increased incidence of feuing of kirklands and even the role of the commendators allowed the religious the opportunity to return to stricter devotion to their rules.³ Traditional devotions were flourishing in many houses and the number

1. Donaldson, Scottish Reformation, 3.

2. Lindsay, Works (STS, 1930-36), i, 142; ii, 51, 281, 315, 317; Knox, History, i, 191; Winzet, Certain Tractates, Hewison, J.K. (ed.), (STS, 1888), i, 6.

3. Cowan, Scottish Reformation, 36-7; Dilworth, M., 'The Commendator System in Scotland', IR, xxxvii (1986), 65.

of recruits increasing. During the first half of the sixteenth century the various orders made efforts to ensure the maintenance of standards. Donald Campbell, the abbot of the Cistercian house of Coupar Angus, was a visitor for the Cistercian houses and was responsible for the reforms carried out at his own house and at Melrose.⁴ John Winram, later superintendent of Fife and Strathearn, was one of the visitors of St. Leonard's College in 1550 and was later involved in the visitation of the Augustinian house of Pittenweem, a dependent of St. Andrews Priory.⁵ In further defence of monasticism was the view that the canons and monks were not 'shock troops in religious controversy' and were as unsuitable for catholic evangelism as protestant. Also to their credit was the smaller number of legitimations, not necessarily an indication of celibacy however, and a continued high regard for education.⁶ Professor Donaldson suggests that 'there is little real proof that the monks were other than respectable in character'.⁷

Commendation, the entrusting of the duties and emoluments of an abbot to a person who was not the legal holder of the office, was widespread, even prior to the Reformation.⁸ Despite attempts by the Councils of Trent to restrict the practice, only seven of the thirty-nine houses prior to 1560 had never had a commendator. This method of assuming the abbacy was a convenient means of avoiding pluralism and as a result commendators were often bishops. Alexander Stewart

4. CA Chrs., i, pp. lxiv, lxv; ii, 277, 285, 286.

5. St.A.Recs., 253; McRoberts, Scottish Reformation, 225.

6. Cowan, Scottish Reformation, 14.

7. Donaldson, Scottish Reformation, 5.

8. Dilworth, 'Commendator System', 51-2.

and Patrick Hepburn, bishops of Moray in 1529 and 1538, were the commendators of Inchaffray (1514-37) and Scone (1538-71) respectively. The system was also used by clerics who remained members of a different order or by under-age superiors. The best known example of the latter was the appointment ^{between 1534-41} of four bastard sons of James V to five houses, including that of James to St. Andrews and Robert to Holyrood. Despite the dynastic nature of many appointments there was nothing to prevent a regular abbot succeeding a commendator. The Cistercian bishop Thomas Livingstone was commendator of Coupar Angus from 1446 to 1460, while the subsequent abbots until Donald Campbell in 1526 were regulars.⁹ Dunfermline was the only abbacy held consistently by a commendator from before Flodden in 1513 to 1560. In fact few Scottish houses had a commendator who was a member of the monastic order to which that house belonged, and although many were clerics, some were laymen. Father Dilworth argues that the office assumed a quasi-ecclesiastical nature.

Local factors, although important, play a less crucial role in the analysis of the monastic clergy than that of the parish clergy. More important was the integration of the commendatorship of a house with the interests of a noble family, which ensured that that house acted in unison with the commendator's kin. Donald Campbell at Coupar Angus was a loyal supporter of the house of Argyll and it has been commented that 'it is surprising that ... the whole of the Coupar Angus estates did not simply pass into the hands of the aged

9. CA Chrs, ii, 267-81; Dowden, Bishops, 190-1; James V Letters, 119-20.

abbot's relatives, cadets and branches of the powerful house of Argyll'.¹⁰ In 1548 Donald Campbell was involved in a conference held at Coupar Angus between Argyll and English agents at which time it was claimed that Argyll 'sparis nother landis nor guddis to draw all the legis in all partis to concord'.¹¹ His successor, Leonard Leslie, was a kinsman of John Stewart, 4th earl of Atholl, and as a result was able to resist the inroads of Argyll, Ogilvy of Airlie and the numerous other Campbell kinsmen planted by the previous abbot. At Cambuskenneth and Inchmahome both commendators were Erskines and followed the lead of the head of the family, the Earl of Mar.

Although many of the actions of the commendators were politically motivated it would appear that the negative effects of commendation have previously been over-exaggerated. The commendators' management of their houses was not as damaging as has been supposed and led to a certain amount of rationalisation and reform. Their personal influence over their convent is equally unclear as, whilst many were protestants, there was not wholesale conformity amongst the canons. Amongst those who 'renounced papistry and openly professed Jesus Christ with us' John Knox included Alexander Gordon, William Colville and Stewart of Doune, the commendators of Inchaffray, Culross and Inchcolm.¹² Gordon was, however, an unwelcome recruit to the reformed church and was distrusted by protestants and catholics alike. Doubt was cast over Stewart of Doune's commitment to the protestant faith on account

10. Sanderson, Scottish Rural Society, 93; TB, xviii.

11. CSP Scot, i, no. 192; Balcarras Papers, ii, 238.

12. Knox, History, i, 335.

of his support of the crown, however his loyalties were politically rather than religiously motivated. William Colville, however, was a committed protestant who, after 1560, married and subscribed the First Book of Discipline. A Jesuit letter of 1562 claimed that Mary wished to deprive him of office 'because of his extraordinary fanaticism' for the reformed faith.¹³ Other protestants included David and Adam Erskine of Inchmahome and Cambuskenneth respectively and James Stewart of St. Andrews, who was supposedly converted to protestantism by Knox himself. It would be wrong, however, to suggest that the majority of the commendators were supporters of the kirk. Patrick Hepburn, bishop of Moray and commendator of Scone, was notably unsympathetic to the reformed church as was George Durie, commendator of Dunfermline, who left Scotland after the Reformation. There was also little evidence of Donald Campbell's and Leonard Leslie's support of the new doctrines. Politically many of the commendators sided with the confederate lords and Mary had less support amongst them than amongst the bishops. The anti-Marian confederation of 1567 included the commendators of Dunfermline, Inchcolm, Cambuskenneth and Culross, though in the following year eighteen commendators put their signatures to the Hamilton or Dumbarton bonds.¹⁴

It is apparent therefore that there is little evidence that the provision of secular clergy was detrimental to monastic life. The mediocrity of Scottish monasticism seems to have been as much the

13. Pollen, Papal Negs., 94, 94n, 98.

14. CSP Scot., iii, no. 895; Donaldson, All the Queens Men, 165-6.

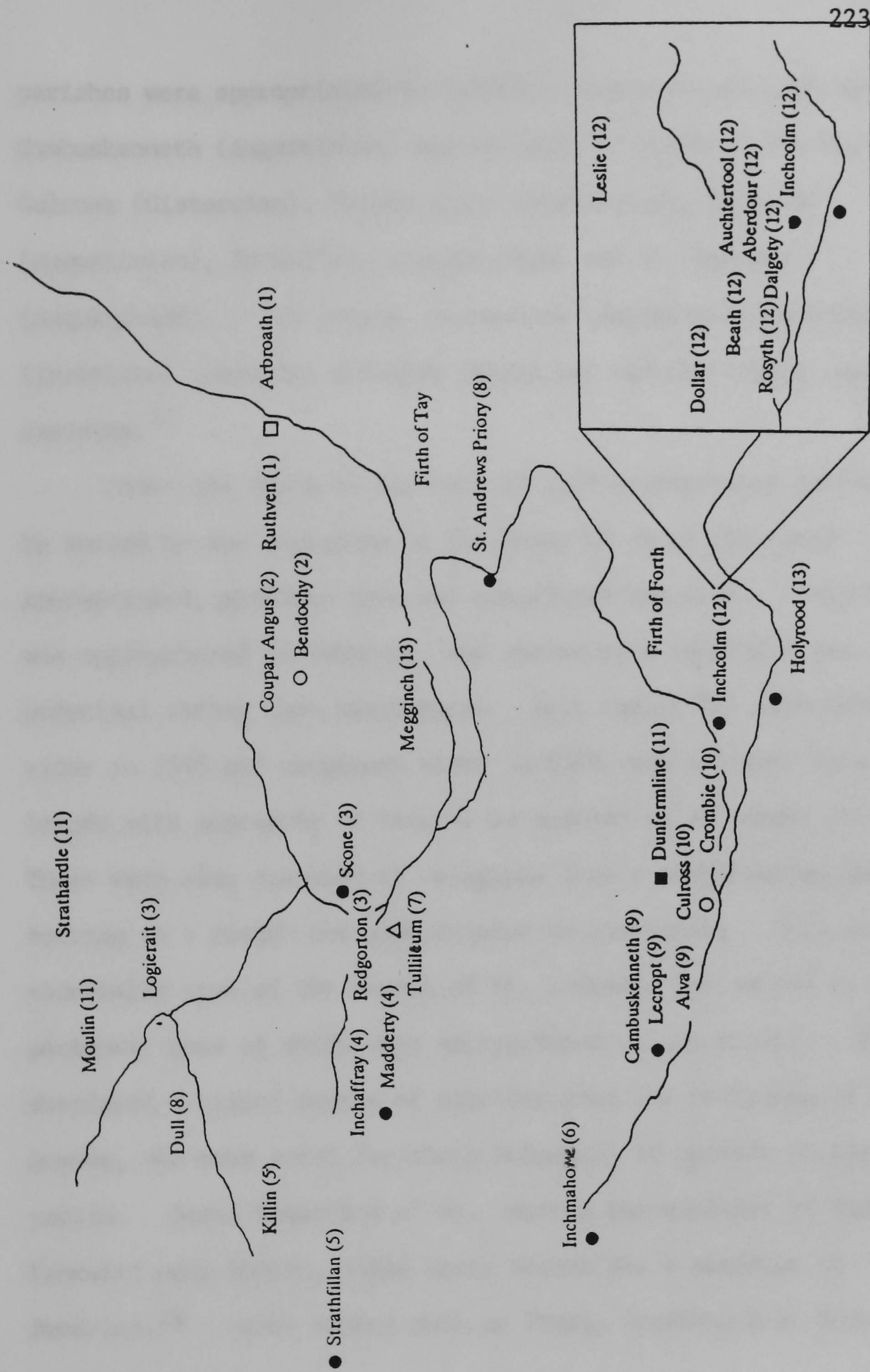
result of the provision of unsuitable candidates to regular abbatial status as to the appointment of commendators, who on the whole maintained the spiritual and material fabrics of their houses. Commendation as a system did not bring dramatic change as 'the trend in Scotland was not inexorably away from the traditional monastic pattern'.¹⁵

The analysis of the links between Dunkeld and the monastic orders covers more than just those houses lying within the bounds of the diocese. Amongst the parish clergy in Dunkeld were a number of religious from outwith the diocese. In many cases the links with these other houses stretched back many centuries prior to the Reformation, and in the cases of Inchcolm and Tullilum the bishops of Dunkeld were instrumental in their foundation. Inchcolm was founded during the second half of the twelfth century and much of the land pertaining to the house was granted by the bishops of Dunkeld. The Carmelite friary of Tullilum was founded by Richard, bishop of Dunkeld, in 1262. Improvements carried out around 1514 by Bishop George Brown of Dunkeld, ensured that a small community survived until the Reformation. There was also evidence of another house of friars in Dunkeld itself. The house of Crutched Friars was of Polish origin, but does not seem to have been in existence around 1560.¹⁶

The majority of Dunkeld's parishes were appropriated, with almost 30% being appropriated to other religious houses. Seven

15. Dilworth, 'Commendator System', 65.

16. Chettle, H.F., 'The Friars of the Holy Cross in England', History, xxxiv (1949), 205.



● Fig. 3: The Monastic Houses and their Appropriated Parishes

- Augustinian
- Benedictine
- △ Carmelite
- Cistercian
- Tironensian

parishes were appropriated to Inchcolm (Augustinian), two each to Cambuskenneth (Augustinian) and one each to Arbroath (Tironensian), Culross (Cistercian), Coupar Angus (Cistercian), Holyrood (Augustinian), Inchaffray (Augustinian) and St. Andrews (Augustinian). Two houses, Inchmahome (Augustinian) and Tullibole (Carmelite), provided reformed clergy but did not control any Dunkeld parishes.¹⁷

Under the terms of the bull of 1178 appropriated parishes could be served by the religious of the house to which they were appropriated, although this was not always the case. Dalgety, which was appropriated to Inchcolm, was served by a secular vicar, who was perpetual rather than pensionary. As a result Sir John Murray, vicar in 1548 and perpetual vicar in 1559, was entitled to the lesser teinds with guarantee of tenure, as opposed to an annual allowance.¹⁸ There were also examples of religious from a neighbouring house serving in a parish not appropriated to the house. This was especially true of the canons of St. Andrews, who served in Dunkeld parishes, none of which were appropriated to the priory. They displayed a higher degree of mobility than the religious of other houses, who were noted for their longevity of service in the one parish. David Robertson of St. Andrews was minister of Tealing and Kinnaird near Dundee, while Pater Watson was a minister in Dumfries.¹⁹ Other canons such as Thomas Cruikshank at Scone and

17. See Appendix (b), 'Parishes in the Diocese of Dunkeld'.

18. Inchcolm Chrs., 208, 220, 234; RMS, iv, no. 2487; RSS, vii, no. 173.

19. GRH Chrs, no. 2015; Laing Chrs., no. 1082; Scott, Fasti, v, 37; Reg. Min., 15, 24; Wod. Misc., 353, 390; TB., 232, 244; BUK, i, 222, ii, 429; Calderwood, History, iii, 351, 386

William Melrose at Inchaffray were less mobile, serving in the area around their houses.²⁰

Despite the stance taken by many of the commendators, rates of conformity amongst the regular clergy were low. With so few houses actually lying within the bounds of the diocese it would be unrealistic to produce a figure such as the 26% calculated for Dunblane.²¹ Aside from notable exceptions, such as Thomas Forrest, the Augustinian vicar of Dollar, and John Winram, the sub-prior of St. Andrews, the majority of the members of the monastic community played little part in the early stages of the Reformation. Those canons-regular already serving as vicars did, however, find it easier to conform and serve within the reformed church. Andrew Angus, a canon of Inchcolm, served Leslie prior to the Reformation and continued as reader until 1592.²²

The origins of this non-conformity were both financial and spiritual. Monks and canons were regular not secular clergy and were therefore less directly affected, financially, by the Reformation. Beneficed clergy lost one third of their income after 1561 whereas the regulars generally retained their portions or pensions. In 1581 James Anderson, a monk of Coupar Angus and minister at Bendochy, entered into an agreement with Leonard Leslie that the commendator should pay his portion up until that year, a total of £78 13s 4d.²³ A reformed church stipend was therefore more

20. GRH Chrs., no. 701; SRO Tods, Murray and Jamieson GD 237 nos. 55, 64, 65; Reg. Min., 19, 30; TB., 250; Wod. Misc., 354.

21. Todd, J.R., The Reformation in the Diocese of Dunblane (Edinburgh Ph.D., 1973), 201.

22. Inchcolm Chrs., 70, 72-3; Assump., 98v; TB., 151, 242, 245.

23. Acts and Decs., lxxxv, fo. 468r.

appealing to unbeneficed secular clergy, although conformity was higher amongst younger canons, who took the opportunity to supplement their portions. The older clergy were also unwilling to cope with the doctrinal changes which, coupled with the financial upheavals, led to a considerable change in life-style.

Two monasteries lay within the bounds of Dunkeld, the Cistercian abbey of Coupar Angus and the Augustinian house of Strathfillan. Another Augustinian house, Inchaffray, seems to have been situated in the parish of Madderty in Dunkeld, however its allegiance was to Dunblane rather than Dunkeld. There may have been two further houses at Strathmiglo and at Loch Tay, however it is unclear whether either foundation was in existence at the Reformation.

The largest of these houses was the Cistercian abbey of Coupar Angus, which 'has been a very sweet place and lyes in a very pleasant countrey'.²⁴ The house, like others within the order, was situated at the centre of a large non-manorial rural area and the abbot possessed two country seats at Campsie and Cupar Grange. The abbey's wealth was obviously based upon agriculture and as well as numerous arable farms the house possessed fisheries and large flocks of sheep in Strathhtay, Strathardle and Strathisla, the wool from which was produced for the export market. The house also controlled estates further afield in Forfarshire, Aberdeenshire and Banffshire. To serve the spiritual needs of the abbey's servants and tenants there were at least six chapels, as well as the appropriated churches

24. MacFarlane, Geographical Collections, ii, 36.

of Airlie, Bendochy, Fossoway, Glenisla and Meathie. The chapels were not parochial, but independent and autonomous ecclesiastical foundations. The priests were appointed by and responsible to the abbey. The second of these appropriated churches, Bendochy, belonged to Dunkeld, and was the source of minor disputes between the two establishments. By the sixteenth century the relationship had improved as evidenced by an agreement in 1549 between Donald Campbell and James Hepburn, the dean of Dunkeld. In return for the teinds of certain churches north of the Forth Campbell accepted the appointment of five Dunkeld chaplains as factors.²⁵ The annual revenues from the abbey's various sources has been estimated at £5590, but was probably considerably more.²⁶

In common with the other religious houses the Reformation took its toll on the material and spiritual fabric of the abbey. In 1550 measures were taken to ensure that the feuars defended the abbot and the convent 'against all assailants and heretics whomsoever, and if they shall fall into the Lutheran madness and heresy, or if they shall oft hold new opinions contrary to the constitution of the church, the said feu shall revert to the abbey'.²⁷ Nevertheless shortly prior to the Reformation the convent complained of 'the insults of many lay magnates and their inferiors of the realm of Scotland opposing in these days the catholic faith and completely destroying many sacred places in diverse neighbouring parts'.²⁸

25. CA Chrs., ii, 267.

26. Cowan and Easson, Medieval Religious Houses, Scotland, 72.

27. CA Rent., ii, p. xxiv.

28. RMS, iv, no. 1380.

The claim that the abbey was burnt by the reformers seems unlikely, however there is no doubt that at the Reformation the abbey buildings were in need of repair.²⁹ In 1557 Wester Bogside was given to Thomas Ogilvy of Wester Craig 'in consideration of certain sums paid by [him] ... for the use of the monastery, for the repair of the church and the ruinous houses of the same'.³⁰ Despite the generosity of such benefactors the chamberlain's accounts of 1563 suggest that further repairs were necessary. Provision was to be made for preserving the 'tymmer' of the church and steeple and for the gathering of the slates in the cloister for safe-keeping.³¹ By 1618 a new church had been built to replace the old, which in 1622 was ruinous. In the same year it was described as 'that fair and exceding greit monument of the abbay and abbacie of Cowper in Angus as the [auld] Ruwynous wallis thairof zit dois schaw'.³² Despite its great wealth much of the abbey's income had been dissipated by the time of the Reformation. Many feus had been granted in the two years prior to 1560, however to the credit of the commendator, Donald Campbell, the majority of leases, 150 out of 257, were granted to occupant feuars for life, indicating a trend towards stability in tenancy patterns.³³

Lay involvement with the house was always important and every effort was made to secure the support of powerful benefactors. This

29. Camerius de Scotorum, 271.

30. Bamff Chrs., 88.

31. CA Rent., ii, 135, 280.

32. CA Rent., ii, 307; Bisset, H., Rollment of Courtis ed. Hamilton-Grierson, P.J. (STS, 1920-6), ii, 193-4.

33. Sanderson, Scottish Rural Society, 46-8.

support was, however, often more damaging than expected, denuding the house of lands and revenues. Many prominent local families, including the Ogilvies of Airlie and Newton and the Herings of Glasclune and Wester Gormok had close links with the abbey, but it was the noble families of Atholl and Argyll, who vied most keenly for control of its revenues and political prestige. The last abbot was Donald Campbell, whose promotion had been secured by his family. At the Reformation his superior, the Earl of Argyll, received five leases of land in Perthshire and seven in Glenisla. In 1562 he was also given two-thirds of the abbey's revenues to enjoy 'als frelie as the said umquhile Donald, last abbot, or any utheris provydit thairto of befoir mycht have done in tymes bygane'.³⁴

Donald Campbell was the fourth and youngest son of Archibald, 2nd Earl of Argyll and Elizabeth Stewart, daughter of John, 1st Earl of Lennox. During the 1520s he was a student of St. Salvator's, at which time he was described as 'a young man of excellent character and genuinely interested in the religious life' and as being 'of known integrity'.³⁵ In 1525, while still a clerk at Lismore, he was appointed procurator in anticipation of his promotion to Coupar Angus.³⁶ This promotion was the result of an application by his brother Colin, 3rd Earl of Argyll, who solicited the support of Cardinal Wolsey in his attempts to influence the Pope.³⁷ Despite the controversy surrounding the election Campbell attended parliament

34. RFC, i, fo. 230r; RSS, v, nos. 1009, 1198.

35. St.A.Recs., 218; James V Letters, 117, 120.

36. St.A. Form., i, 34.

37. CA Chrs., ii, 276.

in June 1526 as abbot of Coupar Angus.³⁸ Three years later James V, in a letter to Peter, Cardinal of Ancona, gave his tacit approval, expressing satisfaction at the appointment.³⁹ Campbell played a modest role in national affairs and was a regular member of parliament throughout his tenure of office. During the 1540s he was a senator of the College of Justice, a member of the council of state and served as a royal envoy to Mary of Guise.⁴⁰ During the 1550s he was Keeper of the Privy Seal, a post which he retained until his death in 1562.⁴¹

At a time of religious stagnation Campbell was one of the few reforming churchmen. In 1531 James V expressed his concern about the state of Scottish monasticism, and correspondence with Citeaux was followed by a visitation of the Scottish houses by Symon, abbot of Chaalis. In 1532 Campbell carried out a visitation of the universities and in the following year was appointed visitor to the Cistercian houses for five years.⁴² In this capacity he was responsible for the reforms instigated at Coupar Angus and Melrose in 1534.⁴³ In 1539 reference was made to 'statutis and cartis of visitatioun and reformation left be the visitoris' and to the 'sustenance assigned to the reformit brether' of the abbey.⁴⁴ In 1553 the community promised 'to lead a regular life' and to order its manners according 'to the reforms of the Cistercian order'. It was

38. APS, ii, 302.

39. CA Chrs., ii, 277.

40. Brunton and Haig, Senators, 69; Hamilton Papers, ii, 46.

41. RMS, iv, no. 941; RSS, v, no. 1199.

42. CA Chrs., ii, 277.

43. Ibid., ii, 277, 285-6.

44. Ibid., ii, 146.

also resolved that the fruits and income of the house be used in common by the convent as a whole.⁴⁵ Other financial reforms were implemented, however, despite the success of the Council of Trent, Campbell was unable to eliminate the system of portions.⁴⁶ Although keen on religious reform, personal morality was of secondary importance. Each of his five illegitimate sons received estates from the abbey lands.⁴⁷

Throughout the 1540s and 1550s Campbell was eager to obtain a secular appointment. In 1547 he was granted a gift of the temporalities of Dunkeld and around the same time was nominated by Arran to the see of Glasgow.⁴⁸ Negotiations were, however, interrupted by the death of the papal nuncio.⁴⁹ Campbell continued with his efforts to gain provision to Dunkeld and secured a further grant of the temporalities in 1549.⁵⁰ In December of that year he concluded an agreement with James Hepburn, dean of Dunkeld, concerning the allocation of teinds and the appointment of a baillie and chaplains as factors.⁵¹ Despite the crown nomination and negotiations in France he failed to procure papal confirmation and was unsuccessful in his attempts to secure the bishopric of Brechin. Despite being the crown nominee again he failed to gain papal

45. Ibid., i, p. lxiv-lxv.

46. Cowan and Easson, Medieval Religious Houses, Scotland, 26-7; James V Letters, 107; CA Chrs, i, p. lxiii-lxv.

47. These were the estates of Arthurstone, Balgersho, Croonan, Denhead and Keithock.

48. RSS, iii, no. 253.

49. Hannay, R.K., 'Some Papal Bulls among the Hamilton Papers', SHR, xxii (1925), 34.

50. RSS, iv, no. 310.

51. CA Chrs., ii, 267.

52. Ibid., ii, 201-03; CA Rent., ii, pp. viii, 250; RPC, i, 91; Watt, Fasti, 100.

approval, presumably because he wished to retain Coupar Angus.⁵³

John Row, his procurator in Rome, had anticipated two problems: 'the fyrst, becaus the Pape will geive nay retentione in commendam of monastries that ar brukit in titulum; the second wes toward the changeing off your lordship's habitt'. However he was confident 'thair sall not be made gret difficulte toward your habitt, sua the remanent could be obtenit'.⁵⁴ This would give credence to the suggestion that his failure to gain provision to either see was attributable to papal suspicions of his protestant leanings, however following the Reformation there was little to confirm these suspicions.⁵⁵

In 1559 he apparently 'put on the secular weed' and promised protestant reforms at Coupar Angus.⁵⁶ His siding with the Lords of Congregation may have served as an insurance policy for his house, in return for which he was to 'reforme his place of Cowper putting down and birnying oppinlie all idolis and imagis and tabernacuilis tharin destroying and putting away all altaris'. He was also to ensure 'that na mess be thair done heirafter nowthir privilie nor opinly. And that the superstitiouse habit of his monkis with their ordour ceremonies and service as you call it removit. And that na prayeris be usit in the kirk but in the Inglishe tounge. And thai according to the scriptouris of God'.⁵⁷ However these promises, like his attendance of the Reformation Parliament, offer little confirmation

53. Watt, Fasti, 41.

54. Analecta Scotica, ii, 381-2.

55. CA Rent., i, 110-11.

56. CSP Scot., i, no. 455.

57. RMS, iv, no. 1436; RSS, v, no. 1199; CA Chrs., ii, 278.

of his having conformed and there is no evidence of him doing so before his death two years later. In fact Campbell, who had been a regular attender before August 1560, never attended parliament again thereafter.

Campbell's successor, Leonard Leslie, was a kinsman of John Stewart, 4th earl of Atholl. In 1558 the fourth earl received from the convent the lands of Innerwick, as well as grants of land in 1567 and 1569.⁵⁸ In 1564, as a portion of his justiciary, he had received 'all and haill the lands pertaining to the abbot and convent of Cupar liand within the earldom', the grant being confirmed by the crown in 1575.⁵⁹ In 1565 he acquired the right of appointment to the abbacy from 'oure soverane lord and lady in consideration of the service rendered them'.⁶⁰ His nominee as commendator was Leonard Leslie (1524-1605), the fifth son of Alexander Leslie, first laird of Kinnawie. At the Reformation he appears to have been in holy orders, but later married and had a family.⁶¹ Leslie seems to have held only one other charge, the rectory of Aberlour from 1570 until 1595.⁶² There is little evidence of Leslie's relationship with the reformed church, except in 1581 when he served as a parliamentary commissioner for the provision

58. CA Chrs., ii, 235, 237.

59. RPC, ii, 698-70.

60. CA Chrs., ii, 213-15.

61. CA Rent., i, 114; Laing Chrs., no. 851, 863; CA Chrs., ii, 279.

62. Laing Chrs., no. 851; CA Chrs., ii, 248, 280.

of ministers and stipends.⁶³ Between 1593 and 1595 he was at the horn and although he lost the patronage of the churches formerly pertaining to the abbey, he seems to have retained the commendatorship.⁶⁴ Little is known about his later years and he appears to have slipped into obscurity until his death in 1605.

The abbey's contribution to the Reformation was limited. Donald Campbell seemingly 'put on secular weed', however there is no real evidence of any transfer of allegiance. Leonard Leslie, likewise, showed little inclination for Protestantism and played little part in the activities of the reformed church. The moderate views of the two heads of the house are reflected in the low rate of conformity within the convent. The number of monks remained fairly constant up until the Reformation, declining from 28 in 1521 to 20 in 1545. This last figure remained constant until the 1560s.⁶⁵ Only three of these twenty monks conformed and served: James Anderson (Bendochy), Robert Drysdale (Bendochy) and Arthur Moncur (Blairgowrie). A further two, Alexander Anderson (Kincardine and Kilbride) and John Hutton (Glendevon) may also have conformed.⁶⁶

Both Anderson and Drysdale fall into the category of younger canons as they first appear in the abbey records as late as 1558. Anderson was born at Westerton around 1535 and may have had early inclinations towards Protestantism. His anti-Papist poem The Winter Night, written around the late 1570s, shows traces of English

63. CA Rent., i, 114; APS., iii, 127-9, 148, 196, 211, 215.

64. APS., iv, 76.

65. Cowan and Easson, Medieval Religious Houses, Scotland, 73.

66. CA Chrs., ii, 222-32; Reg. Min., 19; Wod. Misc., 355; TB, 250, 253

Edwardian liturgies of the 1540s and 1550s. Anderson was minister of Bendochy from before 1567 and was translated to Stirling in 1582.⁶⁷ He was also a member and commissioner of numerous general assemblies between 1583 and 1602. Drysdale showed no such mobility and appears to have remained in Bendochy throughout his career. The spiritual decline of the house during the commendatorship of Leonard Leslie was accompanied by its financial decline. During the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries Coupar Angus and other houses were formed into temporal lordships. These proved to be more 'prestigious than remunerative' due to the devaluation of fixed feuduties in relation to rising land values.⁶⁸ In 1603 Coupar Angus was presented to Andrew Lamb and in 1606 was erected into a temporal lordship for James Elphinstone, whose use of the title of Lord Coupar in parliament in 1606 was confirmed in the following year.⁶⁹

The Augustinian house of Inchaffray was situated in the parish of Madderty, on the boundary between the dioceses of Dunkeld and Dunblane. The house is generally referred to as being in Dunblane, but there is also reference to it being situated in Dunkeld.⁷⁰ Doubt about its location has also been expressed by John Todd in his thesis on the Reformation in Dunblane and government surveys and ordnance survey maps usually locate it two hundred yards within the

67. Scott, Fasti., v, 252.

68. Sanderson, M.B.H, 'The feuing of Ecclesiastical Property in the Sixteenth Century' in An Historical Atlas of Scotland c.400-c.1600, eds. McNeill, P. and Nicholson, R. (St. Andrews, 1980), 81.

69. APS, iv, 340-1; RMS, vi, no. 2002.

70. RSS, v, no. 2211; Inchaffray Chrs., 161.

Madderty parish boundary, which ran along the Pow Water.⁷¹ It is situated in the marshland bordering the Water hence the name 'Insula Missarum', the Isle of Masses. The house was founded in 1200 and was centred on the lands of Abthen and Madderty, granted by Earl Gilbert, but held of the bishop of Dunkeld. Madderty was the only Dunkeld parish appropriated to Inchaffray and the church was generally served by one of the canons. The parish was granted to the abbey sometime around 1211 and in Bagimond's Valuation of 1275 there is no reference to a vicar of Madderty, as the church was served from the abbey. Although Madderty was the only Dunkeld parish appropriated to Inchaffray over half of the clergy in the other fourteen appropriated parishes also served within the diocese.

The wealth of the house is unclear and the suggested sum of £607 is undoubtedly an underestimation.⁷² By the time of the Reformation the abbey's estates had been lost, as had much of the income derived from the fifteen appropriated parishes. By 1556 the commendator, the notorious Alexander Gordon, had 'fewit all the whole lordschip of Inchaffray'.⁷³

Alexander Gordon, who was mainly responsible for the decline of the abbey, was the second son of John, lord Gordon and brother of George, 4th earl of Huntly. His career has been described as 'enigmatic and confusing'.⁷⁴ Before his appointment to Inchaffray in 1551 he renounced his claims to the bishopric of Caithness and

71. Shennan, J., Boundaries of Counties and Parishes in Scotland, 206-211.

72. Cowan and Easson, Medieval Religious Houses, Scotland, 88.

73. Acts and Decs., xii, fo. 472r.

74. Todd, The Reformation in the Diocese of Dunblane, 248.

resigned from the see of Glasgow.⁷⁵ In the same year he was created titular archbishop of Athens and in 1553 was appointed to the Isles.⁷⁶ At the same time he was also elect of Galloway.⁷⁷ At the Reformation he joined the protestant party and was 'one of them that had renounced papistrie and openly professed Jesus Christ with us'.⁷⁸ Despite this conversion he was treated with contempt by Protestants and Catholics alike. He was distrusted by Mary, who described him as a 'dangerous man' and advised against his appointment to any office within the reformed church: 'if ye knew him as I do, ye would never promote him to that office nor to any other within your kirk'.⁷⁹ Despite her distrust she was later forced to rely upon his support, especially after the murder of Riccio.⁸⁰ Much of the dislike of Gordon may have been on account of his private life as he kept a concubine by whom he had five children. However the accusations of self-aggrandisement were unfounded, as at his death in 1575 the value of his estate was less than that of John Knox.⁸²

Gordon was succeeded in 1565 by the under-age royal nominee James Drummond, whose appointment does not seem to have received papal sanction. Mary was very keen that Drummond be appointed and emphasised 'the importance of good men, devoted to learning being

75. Watt, Fasti, 150.

76. Ibid., 205.

77. Exchequer Rolls, xix, 451; Watt, Fasti, 132.

78. Knox, Works, ii, 88.

79. BUK, i, 28; Knox, History, ii, 72-3.

80. CSP Scot., iii, no. 865; Calderwood, History, iii, 102-3; Donaldson, All the Queen's Men, 77, 80, 83.

81. Brunton and Haig, Senators, 128-32.

82. Donaldson, G., 'Alexander Gordon, Bishop of Galloway (1559-1575) and his work in the reformed church', Transactions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society (3rd series), xxiv, 128.

appointed to ecclesiastical dignities, where they could be of more service to the state, which is especially true at a time when the church was so grievously afflicted'. One of those who had the power to give such help was David, Lord Drummond 'her powerful defender, even at great loss of the property of himself and his family'.⁸³ This loss was no doubt compensated for by the fact that the abbey lands had been granted in tack to Drummond since 1560. Gordon was severely criticised by the General Assembly as he had 'resigned Inchaffray in favour of a young child and set diocese lands in feu in prejudice of the kirk'.⁸⁴ The situation was, however, very unclear as Gordon was still granting charters in 1566, after his supposed resignation.⁸⁵

Aside from the somewhat dubious involvement of its commendator Inchaffray did show a certain amount of commitment to the Reformation. Four of the fourteen canons in 1560 conformed and served in the reformed church, including William Melrose and George Spens, the minister and reader at Madderty.⁸⁶ Melrose appears to have been one of the younger members of the convent, first appearing in 1554, but Spens was an older man, having been a canon in 1545. Two other clerics, Patrick Murray at Tibbermore and John Neillis at Clunie, may also have been canons of Inchaffray.⁸⁷ The identification of John Neill, canon in 1544-5, with John Neillis, reader at Clunie in 1574, is however dubious, as is that of Patrick

83. Inchaffray Chrs., 246-7.

84. BUK, i, 112, 114; Calderwood, History, ii, 393.

85. Laing Chrs., no. 805.

86. Wod. Misc., 359.

87. RSS., iii, no. 1130; SRO Tods, Murray and Jamieson GD 237 no. 55.

Murray.⁸⁸ It is unclear whether Patrick Murray, the minister at Tibbermore was 'dene' Patrick Murray of Newraw, chamberlain of Inchaffray and prior of Strathfillan, or Patrick Murray of Tibbermore, the 'municipal dignitary and zealous reformer'.⁸⁹ The other two members of the convent who conformed were Alexander Murray and William Ruthven, the readers at Kinkell and Trinity Gask respectively.⁹⁰

In 1609 Inchaffray was erected into a temporal lordship in favour of James Drummond, using the title Lord Maddertie. The erection, however, was not confirmed until 1669 when it was conferred upon William Drummond, who later became Viscount Strathallan.⁹¹

The other Augustinian house within the diocese, Strathfillan, was situated in Glendochart in northwest Perthshire. In 1317-18 Robert Bruce granted patronage of the church of Killin to Inchaffray, providing it supply a canon to serve at Strathfillan.⁹² The actual status of the house is unclear. In 1317-18 it was made a priory, but later in 1542 was referred to as a monastery or chapel royal. Between 1566 and 1572 the head of the convent was described as abbot, commendator and prior.⁹³ A report of the early seventeenth century refers to Strathfillan as a 'pryor kirk' with a non-resident prior, who had formerly 'dwelt in the abbaye of Inchaffray'.⁹⁴ This was

88. Inchaffray Chrs., xcvi; Dupplin Chrs., no. 34.

89. PB Rollok, no. 57; GUA Resig. 1556-9, fo. 181; RSS, v, nos. 2125-6; Fittis, Perth, 209; Milne, R. ed., Rental Book of King James VI Hospital, Perth (Perth, 1891), vi.

90. Haws, Scottish Parish Clergy, 139, 239.

91. Inchaffray Chrs., xciii, 308.

92. Ibid., 116-19.

93. TA., xi, 43, 82, 211.

94. Parishes, 180.

certainly the case prior to the Reformation when the priors included Patrick Murray of Newraw, a canon of Inchaffray until 1590.⁹⁵ After 1560 the ministers of Strathfillan and Killin, John McCorcadill and his successor Maktor Whitehill, were designed as priors of Strathfillan.

The wealth and size of the house is also unclear, but by the Reformation it seems to have declined from its former glories. It may have been some kind of well-endowed early monastic foundation, where the 'abbots of old amassed a deal of riches'.⁹⁶ In 1573 it was valued at only £40 and despite the revenues appropriated from Strathfillan and Killin there was still insufficient funds to maintain the canons and the upkeep of the house. In 1501 James IV had stayed at Strathfillan and had made a contribution towards the upkeep of the fabric of the house. In 1543-4 another royal grant was required for further repairs. At the Reformation there was only the prior and perhaps one canon and although the house played no role in national affairs its local importance after 1560 cannot be underestimated in an area where there were few clergymen of either denomination. What little wealth the house did possess was appropriated by the Campbells of Lawers, who were granted the lands by prior John Gray in 1542-3.⁹⁷ Two hundred years later Strathfillan passed into the hands of the earls of Breadalbane and the Campbells of Glenorchy, who were the priors and commendators

95. GUA Resig., 1556-9, fo. 181.

96. Cowan and Easson, Medieval Religious Houses, Scotland, 52; Gillies, Breadalbane, 96.

97. RMS, iii, no. 2993.

respectively.⁹⁸

Strathfillan is saved from total obscurity by an interesting dispute which arose over the relics of St. Fillan. In 1549 the prior of Strathfillan, Hew Currie, attempted to compel the custodians of the relics, the Dewars, to deliver them to him. This, and further litigation, proved unsuccessful and financial pressure had to be exerted on them to remove them from their lands. The fate of these relics is unclear and over the centuries they have passed in and out of the possession of the Dewars.⁹⁹

Little is known about the foundations at Strathmiglo and on Loch Tay. In 1527 William Scott of Balweary had proposed the foundation of a college in the parish church of Strathmiglo and in the following year was granted the patronage of the provostry and prebends. The number of prebends is unknown, however there were three choristers.¹⁰⁰ The existence of a religious house on Loch Tay is extremely doubtful. Alexander I had granted an island on Loch Tay to the canons of Scone, however there are no post-Reformation references to the house until 1612 when a grant to David, Lord Scone was confirmed by the crown.¹⁰¹ Local tradition refers to a market in Kenmore named after the holy women of the priory, but by the sixteenth century the priory seems to have become a fortified house, the only religious building being the chapel built by Campbell of

98. SRO Breadalbane GD 112/1/720 and 2/145/10.

99. Gillies, Breadalbane, 64-82; the Bernane and the Quigrich can now be found in the National Museum of Scotland, in Edinburgh.

100. ADCP, 257; RMS, iii, no. 760.

101. Scone Liber, no. 2; RMS, vii, no. 645.

Glenorchy in 1538.¹⁰²

Aside from the three main houses already mentioned a further ten supplied reformed clergymen to Dunkeld parishes. The most influential of these were the Augustinian houses of St. Andrews and Inchcolm. St. Andrews was especially important providing five clergymen for Dunkeld parishes, and whilst Inchcolm supplied only two it controlled seven parishes appropriated from the diocese.

St. Andrews was special, not only as regards conformity, but also in terms of its role as a community of Augustinian regulars and as the cathedral chapter of the diocese. The origins of St. Andrews protestantism are clear and unlike the other houses it *retained its* importance during the years leading up to the Reformation. In a satirical poem in defence of Queen Mary, the prior, her half-brother, Lord James Stewart, later earl of Moray, was ridiculed as 'the apostate dean' and the convent as 'apostate monks'.¹⁰³ Lord James was also reputed to have been responsible for the ruin of the 'far-famed monastery' of St. Andrews.¹⁰⁴ He would appear to have been sympathetic to protestantism prior to his supposed conversion by Knox in 1555, as was his sub-prior, John Winram.¹⁰⁵ Although his effectiveness as superintendent of Fife has been questioned, Winram was in a position to ensure that the canons of St. Andrews played an important part in the establishment of the kirk.¹⁰⁶ Many of them

102. Taymouth Bk., 181-2, 187-9, 190, 192.

103. 'A Rhyme in defence of the Queen of Scots against the Earl of Moray', Cranstoun, Satirical Poems, i, 76-7.

104. Richardinius, Commentary, 159.

105. Sanderson, Cardinal of Scotland, 120-1.

106. BUK, i, 222.

likewise seem to have been protestants from an early date, having come under the influence of Gavin Logie, principal of St. Leonard's College during the 1520s and 1530s.¹⁰⁷ Those canons who conformed to serve within Dunkeld were of a younger generation, and four of the five were graduates of St. Andrews. Alexander Muir (Strathmiglo) and Peter Watson (Leslie) were pre-Reformation graduates of St. Leonard's and St. Salvator's respectively and William Bradfuite (Strathmiglo) and Thomas Biggar (Auchtertool) were both post-Reformation graduates of St. Leonard's.¹⁰⁸

Inchcolm's links with Dunkeld dated back to the middle of the twelfth century when Gregory, bishop of Dunkeld, granted to the canons lands held in custody for King David. The house, situated on Inchcolm Island in the Firth of Forth, one and half miles south of Aberdour, was established sometime prior to 1178, when a papal bull of that year narrated the house's possessions as including the churches of Aberdour, Dalgety, Rosyth, Auchtertool, the chapel of Beath and tofts in Cramond and Tibbermore.¹⁰⁹ In 1235 Pope Gregory IX authorised the erection of the priory into an abbey.¹¹⁰ The bishops of Dunkeld continued to be amongst Inchcolm's most important patrons and the abbey's possessions were expanded to include two other Dunkeld parishes, Dollar and Leslie. Relations between the two houses were harmonious and many bishops chose to be buried on the

107. AFA, i, pp. xlviii-xlix; Calderwood, History, i, 104.

108. AFA, ii, 413, 423, 329, 434; St.A.Recs., 156, 158, 161, 163, 165, 267, 273.

109. Inchcolm Chrs., xxi.

110. Ibid., 14.

island, rather than at Dunkeld. A common link may have been the connection of both houses with St. Columba. These good relations seem to have been generally unaffected by the fourteenth and fifteenth century disputes over the vicarage of Dunkeld and payments from the vicars of Cramond.

Despite controlling seven parishes Inchcolm only provided two reformed clergymen to serve them. Andrew Angus and John Brounhill, the readers at Leslie and Dalgety, were not typical converts from the monastic orders. Neither was particularly young at the time of their conversion, Brounhill having been a canon in 1541 and Angus in 1538.¹¹¹ Their motives for joining the kirk are unclear as was the commitment of the head of the convent, James Stewart. Stewart was of royal blood and was related on his mother's side to the catholic Abercrombies of Murthly. In 1560 he joined the Lords of the Congregation, but was still regarded with suspicion for his loyalty to the crown. Charles, cardinal of Lorraine, however, was in no doubt when he declared: 'consider what these nobles of Scotland are in the matter of religion, when the queen's own agent here with me is a Calvinist and is at no pains to conceal it'.¹¹² Sir Nicholas Throckmorton likewise failed to find any trace of catholic sympathy.¹¹³ In 1580 Stewart's kinsman, the Jesuit Robert Abercrombie, spoke highly of him: 'he gave me a kind welcome at court in the antechamber, and in his own room he congratulated me on my

111. Ibid., 70, 72-3, 216.

112. CSP Rome, 1558-71, no. 134; Pollen, Papal Negs., 87.

113. CSP Scot, iii, no. 601.

return home, cursed the ministers and asked me to stay; he is a man of very mild disposition and inclined to the catholic religion'.¹¹⁴ Abercrombie had a habit of only hearing what he wanted to hear and may have misinterpreted his kinsman's views. It is conceivable that Stewart was expressing his distrust of the radical protestants rather than the reformed church in general.

In keeping with the controversy surrounding the state of the monastic orders at the time of the Reformation few patterns emerge in relation to their involvement with the reformed church. Aside from St. Andrews conformity was not high, even in large houses such as Dunfermline or Coupar Angus. The influence of the commendators is unclear, although the religious conservatism of the likes of Donald Campbell (Coupar Angus), George Durie (Dunfermline) and Patrick Hepburn (Scone) must have contributed to the low rates of conformity. The protestantism of others, such as Alexander Gordon (Inchaffray) and David Erskine (Inchmahome), was however no guarantee of greater conformity. It has been suggested that younger canons were generally recruited by the kirk, however there are enough examples of older canons conforming to partially refute this theory. The lack of any pattern would suggest that conformity was a question of personal choice and that the reformed church and individual commendators were generally unwilling or unable to pressurise regulars into conforming.

114. Anderson, W.J., 'Narratives of the Scottish Reformation', IR, vii (1956), 37.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE JESUIT MISSIONS AND THE DIOCESE OF DUNKELD

A contributory factor in the survival of catholicism in Scotland was the Society of Jesus, 'a new race of persons far worse than papists'.¹ Although the most important period of the Society's involvement mainly falls outwith the period of this study, the Jesuits were also active in Scotland during the 1560s, when recusant activity in Dunkeld was at its peak. The most productive period of Jesuit activity encompassed the 1580s and 1590s, however the Society's influence declined during the early years of the next century. Despite its limited resources the scope of the Scottish mission extended outwith Scotland and was crucial to the survival of catholicism in England, despite the far greater number of fathers working there. The English Jesuit, William Parsons, in a letter to Claudio Aquaviva, the Jesuit general, claimed that 'on the conversion of Scotland, depends every hope, humanly speaking, of the conversion of England'.² Nevertheless, it is obvious from the correspondence of the Jesuit general that Scotland was low on the list of the Society's priorities. As a result the number of Jesuits north of the border was always small. In 1540 there were only two fathers in Scotland and Ireland, despite the fact that the Scottish crown was in

1. Forbes-Leith, Narratives, 141.

2. Anson, P.F., Underground Catholicism in Scotland, 1622-1878 (Montrose, 1970), 13.

favour of its activities. In 1542 the Jesuits, Alonso Salmeron and Paschase Brouet spoke of the benevolence of James V and Mary of Guise, the result of favourable reports from Scots who had joined the Society in Rome.³ During the second half of the sixteenth century there were seven Jesuits operating in Scotland. By 1609 this figure had risen to fourteen, who were supported by nine helpers.⁴ This number is almost insignificant compared with the 140 fathers in England between 1555 and 1585.⁵ These early Jesuits were in Scotland only 'transiently and upon errands', as the Society lacked the numbers and resources to support a larger mission.⁶ Despite these limiting factors the enthusiasm shown by the Scottish fathers produced surprising results. Contemporary reports in the various calendars of state papers speak grudgingly of the industry of the Jesuits, as does James Anderson, the minister of Bendochy, in his anti-papist poem The Winter Night. In reference to the Scottish Jesuits he wrote:

'and to perform their enterprise
They leave not off with once or twice
But up again they mint to rise
The Truth to stop and stay'.⁷

The Scottish fathers compare very favourably with their English counterparts, both in terms of academic ability and missionary work. The majority of Jesuits in England and in Scotland were graduates, usually from the upper social groups, however the Scottish fathers

3. Campbell, T., The Jesuits, 1534-1921 (Encyclopedia Press, 1921), 40.
4. Durkan, J., 'William Murdoch and the Early Jesuit Mission in Scotland', IR, xxxv (1984), 3.
5. Clancy, T.H., 'The First Generation of English Jesuits', Archivum Historicum Societatis Jesu, lvii (1988), 138.
6. Anderson, W.J., 'Narratives of the Scottish Reformation', IR, viii (1956), 115.
7. Anderson, J., The Winter Night (Glasgow, 1713), 14-16.

would appear to have achieved academic standards higher than those of their English counterparts. The majority of the careers of the Scots was spent, not in Scotland, but in the Jesuit colleges on the continent. In 1542 Ignatius Loyola, the Society's founder, had envisaged that about a third of the recruits would actually become Jesuits, however by the time of the Reformation selection had become a fairly informal process. While the nomination of some English Jesuits is in doubt, that of the Scots cannot be queried. The dedication and longevity of their careers would suggest that the Scottish fathers were highly motivated. In England the median years of service was fourteen and for a large group less than six.⁸ Aside from Thomas Smeaton, who reconverted to protestantism, all the Scots served for over twenty years and in some cases over forty.

Dunkeld's links with the Jesuit mission were most apparent during its early years. Bishop Robert Crichton was well known in Rome as a result of his efforts to secure provision to the diocese and was a personal friend of Pope Pius IV.⁹ His influence within his chapter and his links with Rome were instrumental in the recruitment of the majority of the Scottish mission from Dunkeld, or nearby. No such concentrations are found amongst the English Jesuits and the ninety-one whose backgrounds are known originated from thirty counties.¹⁰

The leading members of the mission were Robert Abercrombie, William Crichton, James Gordon, Edmund Hay, William Murdoch, Thomas

8. Clancy, 'English Jesuits', 146, 149.

9. Papal Negs., 417.

10. Clancy, 'English Jesuits', 141

Smeaton and James Tyrie. The close links which existed between these fathers were formed not only after their recruitment into the Society during the early 1560s, but also during the decade prior to the Reformation. Crichton and Hay, who accompanied the papal envoy, Nicholas de Gouda on the first mission, were cousins and also kinsmen of the bishop.¹¹ Three other members were recruited as a result of de Gouda's visit; Abercrombie and Murdoch being previously in Crichton's service.¹² The other, James Tyrie, was from Meigle in the diocese of Dunkeld. The remaining two fathers were James Gordon, a kinsman of the catholic John Stewart, 4th earl of Atholl, and Thomas Smeaton from Gask, near Perth. The bonds between these men were not only the result of family or professional contacts, but also of student friendships forged whilst undergraduates at St. Andrews. Abercrombie and Gordon were graduates of St. Mary's and Crichton, Hay, Smeaton and Tyrie of St. Salvator's.¹³ The six were all students between 1551 and 1557 at a time when their traditional views were being threatened by those of the protestants within the university. The four graduates of St. Salvator's came under the influence of William Cranston the college regent, who at the Reformation fled to France. Cranston was a former rector of Paris University, whose death in 1562 was much celebrated by many protestants in Scotland.¹⁴ Three of those students, Abercrombie, Gordon and Hay, and also Murdoch, were graduates of the catholic

11. Scots Peerage, ii, 218.

12. Watt, Fasti, 115; Dunk. Rent., 358.

13. St.A.Recs., 150-54, 255-7, 259, 264; AFA, ii, 401, 404, 405, 407, 408, 412-4.

14. St.AKSR, i, 169-70.

university of Louvain in the years immediately following the Reformation.¹⁵ At various stages during the fifty years after 1560 the majority of the fathers returned to the area around Dunkeld, but after the demission of Bishop Crichton in 1571 and the kirk's increased efforts to stamp out recusant activity there, their visits became less frequent.

In Scotland the problems facing the Jesuits were manifold. Those bishops and nobles who remained catholic were notably unwilling to support any foreign-aided attempt to restore the old faith and in 1562 Robert Crichton was the only Scottish bishop to meet de Gouda, the papal envoy.¹⁶ The legislation passed by the Reformation Parliament in August 1560 meant that all Jesuit activity was highly dangerous, hence the reluctance of many catholics to be associated with it.¹⁷ Even at court where the mass was still celebrated Mary was very cautious about the envoy's visit. The anxiety which accompanied his progress elsewhere gives a good indication of the influence of the protestants and of the courage of Robert Crichton in showing him hospitality.

De Gouda had adopted the name of his home town in Holland, his given name being Floris or Florrisens. In 1557 he had been sent to Worms, in Germany, with another Jesuit, Peter Canisius, and had fared well in the debates with the protestant reformers Melancthon, Brenz and Pistorius.¹⁸ De Gouda and Canisius had also been involved in the formation of the Jesuit colleges at Ingolstadt and Vienna.

15. Papal Negs., 148, 163.

16. Ibid., 148.

17. APS, ii, 525-35.

18. Papal Negs., lii.

Despite his creditable performance at Worms de Gouda was not considered suitable for the mission to Scotland. In a letter to Salmeron, Diego Laynez, the Jesuit general, expressed his concern that the envoy would never return from Scotland on account of his failing health and his inability to speak French.¹⁹ He was also unwilling to release the Dutchman on account of his important position within the hierarchy of the Jesuit colleges. His academic background meant he was much better suited to the debate of religious theory, as at Worms, than to the demanding role of envoy. It was suggested that his successor as head of the Scottish mission, Everard Mercurian, should go in his place. Mercurian, the Jesuit provincial for Lower Germany and later father assistant for France and Germany, was a future general of the Society. In June 1562 he succeeded de Gouda as head of the Scottish mission and was the obvious candidate, having been previously responsible for much of the organisation. Mercurian and Aquaviva were later responsible for much of the re-organisation of the Society as a whole, recognising the need for 'form, not reform'.²⁰ There was, however, little choice of candidates for the mission and certainly few more devoted to the catholic faith than de Gouda. Despite the various doubts his commission to Scotland was validated in December 1561.²¹

His arrival in Scotland on 18 June 1562 was no secret and had been acclaimed by Mary and her courtiers. He was accompanied by

19. Ibid., liii, 80, 104.

20. Clancy, 'English Jesuits', 150.

21. Papal Negs., 73-81, 163.

Jean Rivat, a French Jesuit, and by the two Scots, William Crichton and Edmund Hay. The latter had originally not been chosen for the mission but had approached de Gouda after the envoy had been summoned to Louvain for a meeting with Mercurian. The envoy's chances of success were always slim but improved marginally with the appearance of this 'angel of Raphael'.²² On arrival in Edinburgh the party stayed with a kinswoman of Hay and moved on to the Hays' family seat at Megginch.²³ Few of the Scottish catholics were prepared to meet him and even the audience with Mary was delayed. De Gouda was impressed by Mary at their meeting, which was conducted while her protestant retainers were at sermons. He had few kind words for the bishops however, as only Robert Crichton was willing to meet him. The meeting took place at Crichton's palace on the Island of Clunie, near Dunkeld, under strict security. De Gouda was required to disguise himself as an Italian banker's clerk and was to discuss financial matters only in the presence of the bishop's servants. The meeting was cordial but of little value to either party. It would appear to have been a very emotional meeting after which the envoy 'consoled the unhappy bishop'.²⁴

Although their talks achieved little, the papal envoy left Dunkeld having enlisted several potential recruits for the Society. He was accompanied on his return to Flanders by Crichton, while Hay returned at a later date with Abercrombie, Murdoch and Tyrie.²⁵ Hay

22. Forbes-Leith, Narratives, 63-4.

23. Papal Negs., 130-1.

24. Ibid., 148.

25. Ibid., 148.

and his fellow travellers proceeded to Rome, via Trent, where they were received by Laynez and were given letters patent from Polanco ensuring hospitality at Jesuit houses en route. Included amongst those accompanying de Gouda was Ninian Winzet, one of the most able catholic opponents of the new regime and a member of the queen's household.²⁶ De Gouda and Winzet travelled to Louvain, from where de Gouda proceeded to Mainz. At his meeting with the Jesuit general it was suggested that Winzet might study at a German college or at the Jesuit College in Rome, however his later movements suggest that he may have been the unidentified exile from Scotland who 'does not seem to feel the call of the Society'.²⁷ In late 1563 Winzet was still in Flanders, where he published his Buke of Four Scoir Three Questions.²⁸ Until his death in 1565 de Gouda had the highest regard for Scotland and was always eager to help young Scottish catholics arriving in Flanders.

Aside from the unwelcome publicity surrounding de Gouda's mission early Jesuit activity was carried out with the greatest secrecy, hence a reference, when they appeared more openly, to 'so strange a monster as a Jesuite'.²⁹ In 1565, despite their earlier presence in the country, Thomas Randolph, the English ambassador in Edinburgh, noted the arrival of a Jesuit from Louvain as 'the fyrste that ever in Scotlande durste shewe his face'.³⁰ This was perhaps Thomas Derbyshire, a former fellow of *Broadgate Hall*, Oxford and

26. Winzet, Certain Tractates, i, p.xiv.

27. Papal Negs., 161, 479.

28. Winzet, op cit., i. 47-140.

29. CSP Scot., i, no. 1129.

30. Ibid., ii, no. 161.

dean of St. Paul's. Derbyshire became a Jesuit after Elizabeth I's accession in 1558 and worked in France as well as England and Scotland.³¹ Despite an improvement in the situation of the catholics in Scotland around the mid-1560s the Society was still reluctant to release its Scottish fathers. In November 1565 Polanco was unwilling to send Crichton and Hay to Scotland, but was undoubtedly encouraged by Mary's appointment of 'catholic men of learning to preach in public and to teach the faith to the people'.³³ These included the Dominican Andrew Abercrombie, the brother of Father Robert Abercrombie. Three new fathers were recruited in July 1566, including Thomas Smeaton. The final mission during Mary's reign was that of Vincenzo Laureo, the bishop of Mondovi, who was to discuss with the queen the restoration of catholicism in both Scotland and England.³³ Although small in numbers, the Jesuits and their proposals, such as those outlined by Laureo, provoked great consternation amongst the protestants. They were further alarmed by Emperor Ferdinand's slaughter of protestants in Bohemia and the St. Bartholomew's Massacre in France in 1572. In that same year the Scottish nobles requested that the privy council defend the country against the 'furious rage and lawless creweltie of the bloody and treasonable papists, executoris of the decreis of the devillische and terrible Counsall of Trent'.³⁴ These fears may have been unfounded, but resulted in numerous commissions and indictments against those

31. Basset, B., The English Jesuits (London, 1967), 23-6.

32. Papal Negs., 491.

33. Ibid., 263-348.

34. RPC, ii, 168.

'pestilent dregs of most detestable idolatrie'.³⁵

The Society achieved only modest success during the 1560s and 1570s and during Morton's regency extra efforts were made by the government to isolate the Jesuit fathers. In 1573 the kinsmen of Hay, Murdoch and Tyrie were forbidden to 'furneis [them] with money, fynance, counsall or uther ayid quhatsumair'.³⁶ The same year also saw the fall of Edinburgh Castle and the collapse of the Marian Party. A communique of 1577 by Sir Henry Killigrew, the English ambassador to Scotland, indicates that a certain amount of religious stability had been achieved as a result of the demise of the Marians and the improving relations between the kirk and the regent.³⁷ The Society was able, however to take advantage of the disturbed political situation during the 1580s to make significant numbers of converts. The events of the 1580s seem to confirm Robert Abercrombie's report of 1580, which indicated an underlying current of support for the catholic cause. He was, however, unsure of the number of catholic nobles, as 'they conceal their opinions and keep quiete'. His views on the religious and political situation were undoubtedly limited by his twenty-year absence and he paints a slightly over-optimistic picture for the sceptics in Rome. He also makes special reference to worthy catholics in need of aid, including Bishop Crichton, the Countess of Atholl and his father, Alexander, who was still at odds with Morton. Abercrombie suggested discreet encouragement as well as the supply of catholic literature printed in

35. BUK, ii, 437.

36. TA, xii, 379.

37. CSP Domestic, Addenda, 1566-1579, p. 523.

Louvain and Antwerp.³⁸

The first Jesuits to appear in Scotland in 1580 were not Scots, but the Welshman William Watts and the Englishman William Holt. Their optimistic reports to Bernadino de Mendoca, the Spanish ambassador in London, were passed on to Cardinal Como and led to the despatch of Hay and Crichton. In 1581 de Mendoca reported a new infiltration of priests, including Jesuits, 'who are beginning to produce great fruit'.³⁹ These successes in Scotland would appear to have been quite significant as the English catholics looked confidently to the north for support.⁴⁰ In the same year, however, James VI and Esme Stewart signed the Negative Confession or King's Covenant denouncing catholicism. Despite the Negative Confession many catholics continued to return to Scotland 'showing themselves boldly there without fear'.⁴¹ Their presence was urgently required as de Mendoca reported, rather sweepingly, that there were only six priests left in the whole of Scotland, and they were old and impoverished.⁴² New recruits were plentiful and 'their number in Paris was considerable. They were men of higher character and admirable learning, and they would most gladly have undertaken the mission'.⁴³ One can only assume that their inexperience made them unsuitable, as the Society sent few fathers to Scotland, other than the old hands of the 1560s.

38. Anderson, 'Narratives of the Scottish Reformation', 115.

39. CSP Spanish, 1580-6, no. 87.

40. CSP Domestic, 1581-90, p. 68.

41. CSP Scot., vi, no. 86.

42. CSP Spanish, 1580-6, no. 212.

43. Forbes-Leith, Narratives, 166.

Accounts of Jesuit successes are perhaps exaggerated, however the Scottish fathers certainly inspired a temporary revival during the mid 1580s. The middle years of the decade saw a crisis for the radical presbyterian party and the increased funding of the Scottish mission. Increased priority was not only given to Scotland, but also to developing the relationship between Mary and the English Jesuits. In August 1582, following the execution of Morton and rumours of popish plots, radical protestant lords seized James VI in the Ruthven Raid. The situation was further complicated by the death of Esmé Stewart, 1st Duke of Lennox, in exile in France in May 1583. Despite the fact the 'the Scottish catholics deplored his loss as that of the foundationstone of their hopes', they were heartened by James's response to his kidnapping.⁴⁴ In 1584 the introduction of the Black Acts led to the eclipse of the presbyterians and the consolidation of the power of the bishops. During 1584 an English agent reported 'many Jesuits in Scotland and spread of popery there and in England'.⁴⁵ Their success was not only the result of the restrictions placed on the radicals, but was also attributable to the financial incentives introduced by the Papacy. In April 1583 it had been decided that the Jesuits would 'disburse every year great sums which they have obtained of the cardinals and other princes, thinking this to be their only way to gain the nobility and people to their devotion'. Two years later

44. Bellesheim, A., A History of the Catholic Church in Scotland (Edinburgh, 1889), iii, 272.

45. CSP Domestic, 1581-90, p. 161.

a further grant of 10,000 crowns was obtained from France.⁴⁶

In 1585, in a letter to Aquaviva, the Scottish Jesuits expressed optimism about the situation in Scotland, despite the small number of fathers involved. The possibility of the catholics shaking off the 'yokes of the heretics' was, however, blighted by a fresh outbreak of the 'tempest'; the return of the lords who had fled into exile after the passing of the Black Acts.⁴⁷ Their disappointment was reflected by the Scots in Paris, who 'have been very melancholy, the rather as they do not hear from the Jesuits there'.⁴⁸ Nevertheless other accounts testify to a catholic revival and in England there was again great expectation of Jesuit successes in Scotland.⁴⁹ In 1585, in a letter to Sir Francis Walsingham, Thomas Roger related that the Jesuits 'proceeded according to their wishes in Scotland and have reconciled 10,000 of late, and daily expect numbers and also to gain the king which is the mark they shoot at'.⁵⁰ In the following year de Mendoca, in a letter to Philip II of Spain, claimed over 20,000 people had been reconciled, including three leading nobles and a great many gentlemen of note.⁵¹ In fact such a great harvest had been raised that more priests were required to 'garner' it.⁵² The execution of Mary at Fotheringay in 1587 led to the end of subsidies, but also served to further kindle the

46. CSP Foreign Elizabeth, 1583, no. 261.

47. Papal Negs., 175.

48. CSP Domestic, Addenda, 1580-1625, p. 163.

49. Ibid., p. 159.

50. Ibid., p. 155.

51. Teulet, Papiers d'Etat, iii, 503; Forbes-Leith, Narratives, 207-8; CSP Spanish, 1580-6, no. 518.

52. CSP Spanish, 1580-6, no. 497.

enthusiasm of the Scottish fathers.⁵³ Correspondence between Tyrie and Holt in 1587 gave a good insight into the situation in Scotland and outlined proposals for priests and fathers to be sent there.⁵⁴ In the following year 'the papists practised never mair bissilie in this land', no doubt in anticipation of the arrival of the Spanish Armada.⁵⁵ These various successes were backed by the catholic nobles, including Erroll and Huntly in the North and Maxwell in Dumfries. Their successes were, however, short-lived as the failure of the Spanish Armada was followed by increased repressive measures. In 1589 a commission against Jesuits and papists in Perth and Dunkeld was entrusted to, among others, Atholl, Campbell of Glenorchy and Stewart of Grandtully.⁵⁶ Nevertheless, as late as 1594 a Jesuit report to Clement VIII, De Antiquitate Christianae Religionis apud Scotus, attributed to James Tyrie, claimed that 'the larger part of this realm is either catholic or favourable to catholics'.⁵⁷

The careers of each of the Jesuit fathers were impressive, not only in Scotland but also on the continent. The commitment they showed to the Scottish Mission compared favourably with that shown by other Jesuits and academically they were able to hold their own, even in the most elevated company. As a result of the mixture of intellectualism and evangelism which they displayed it was generally felt within the Society that their talents were better employed outwith Scotland, and it was with a certain amount of reluctance

53. SCA SM/1/2/2; Warrender Papers, i, 251.

54. SCA SM/1/2/5, 6 and 9.

55. Melville, Diary, 260.

56. BUK, ii, 754.

57. Nau, C., The History of Mary Stewart, ed. Stevenson, J. (Edinburgh, 1883), 140.

that the Scots were released from their commitments elsewhere. The assertion by the catholic historian W.J. Anderson that Scotland would still be catholic and Poland protestant had the Society's deployment of its 'operari' followed national lines is undoubtedly an exaggeration, but does indicate the relative lack of importance attached to the salvation of the catholic faith in Scotland.⁵⁸ An appreciation of the religious situation in Scotland and the outstanding qualities of many of the Scottish fathers would suggest that the Society's reluctance was a realistic acceptance of the futility of the mission; a realism not shared initially by many of the fathers. The biographies of each of the fathers demonstrate not only great courage in the face of considerable personal danger, but also a misplaced loyalty and a misconception of the religious situation in Scotland. Initially 'their awareness of international horizons was exactly what Scots catholics needed, not to speak of their new spirit of self-discipline and their sublime confidence in the scholarship of the famous Society', however this enthusiasm waned in the face of mounting problems.⁵⁹

Robert Abercrombie (1532-1613) was the son of Alexander Abercrombie of Murthly, Bishop Robert Crichton's procurator.⁶⁰ His brother was the Dominican Andrew Abercrombie, who was one of the catholic preachers employed by Mary and was a member of Crichton's catholic faction in Dunkeld. The family was staunchly catholic

58. From a discussion with Father Mark Dilworth at Scottish Catholic Archives.

59. Durkan, J., 'Sidelights on the Early Jesuit Mission in Scotland', Scottish Tradition, xiii (1984-5), 34.

60. Bamff Chrs, 100.

throughout the post-Reformation period and was always prepared to harbour Jesuits and priests. During his youth Robert Abercrombie spent time at court and in 1551 matriculated from St. Andrews University with his brother.⁶¹ In 1560 the Lords of the Congregation attempted to depose him from his benefices, which included the prebends of Buttergill, Caputh, Dunkeld and Little Dunkeld and the vicarage of Dowally.⁶² He was pursued for his failure to subscribe the Confession of Faith: 'to haif gevin confessioun of yair fay[th] maid upon renunciation of all idolatrie and papistrie and to have admit yair selffis to the Christane congregatioun and submittit yame to ye ordnances yairof'.⁶³ Following de Gouda's mission in 1562 Abercrombie vacated the treasurership of Dunkeld, which he had held since the previous year, and left Scotland with Edmund Hay to study at Louvain. In August 1563 he joined the Jesuits and was sent to East Prussia, via Vienna, to establish a college at Braunsberg.⁶⁴ In 1564 Laynez, in a letter to Cardinal Hosino, noted that Abercrombie 'is an excellent man, not wanting knowledge, even in theology and prudent. In his own country he is of good birth. He might perhaps do useful work with the English and Scots who come to Danzig'.⁶⁵ The Society was aware that 'if a door were opened in Scotland, he will not be too occupied', but preferred him to work in Eastern Europe, where he was to remain for

61. St.A.Recs., 156, 255, 257, 264.

62. RSS, v, nos. 649, 3490; vi, no. 2241; Dunk. Rent., 347-8; Assump. 296v.

63. JRL Crawford mss box p, iv, 63.

64. Papal Negs., 480, 485; Foley, H., Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus (London, 1877-84), vii, 2.

65. Ibid., 485.

the next twenty-three years.⁶⁶ In 1573, while in Eastern Europe, he was finally replaced as treasurer of Dunkeld and deprived of his benefices, following his failure to subscribe to the Articles of Religion and acknowledge the king's authority.⁶⁷ Abercrombie was the author of a report written in 1580, which outlined the religious and political state of Scotland. The report contained a glowing account of the career of Bishop Robert Crichton and a slightly unrealistic assessment of underground catholicism throughout the country.⁶⁸

In 1587, after a spell in Cracow, in Poland, he finally returned to Scotland with William Ogilvie, but was immediately captured by Francis Stewart, 5th earl of Bothwell. He was released, probably at the instance of his Jesuit colleague William Crichton, and was sent to south-west Scotland by Edmund Hay, the head of the mission.⁶⁹ During his time in Scotland he travelled extensively and was denounced by the English ambassador, Sir Robert Bowes, as one of the four plagues. He was described as 'an old and tired hand who leaves not a corner of the kingdom unvisited, he more than any of the others must be cut off'.⁷⁰ Bowes offered £10,000 reward for Abercrombie's capture, but the Jesuit eluded him and in 1599 was appointed superior of the mission. The new superior was a shrewd judge of character and recognised that James's sole aim was the English crown. His familiarity with the royal family led to his

66. Ibid., 485.

67. RSS, vi, no. 2241; Watt, Fasti, 115.

68. Anderson, 'Narratives of the Scottish Reformation', 30-59.

69. Bellesheim, History of the Catholic Church in Scotland, iii, 341.

70. Forbes-Leith, Narratives, 228

appointment as chaplain to Queen Anne and as keeper of the king's falcons at Holyrood.⁷¹ In 1606 he was forced to leave Scotland on account of ill-health and returned to Braunsberg, where he died in 1613.⁷²

William Crichton (c.1535-1617) was the son of Patrick Crichton of Camnay, in the barony of Meikle. The family was a cadet of the Crichtons of Ruthven, who were supporters of the kirk. Crichton was also a kinsman of Bishop Robert Crichton.⁷³ William matriculated from St. Andrews in 1552 and also studied at Paris, Rome, Leipzig and Louvain.⁷⁴ The Society was impressed that Crichton was 'virtuous, learned and prudent' and 'though very young is nevertheless a master in Arts and well-versed in languages'.⁷⁵ He was highly regarded as a political negotiator, but was also noted for his 'over-sanguine temperament, his tendency to over-exaggerate and his occasional inability to hold his tongue'.⁷⁶ Despite recognising his skills as a politician the Society actively discouraged his political orientation and as late as 1611 Aquaviva was still attempting to keep him in check.⁷⁷

In June 1562 Crichton was in Louvain with his cousin Edmund Hay and together they accompanied de Gouda to Scotland. On their return to Flanders Crichton joined the Jesuits, who on account of his

71. CSP Scot., xiii, no. 762; Papal Negs., 480, 506.

72. New Catholic Encyclopedia (Washington, 1967), i, 19.

73. Scots Peerage, ii, 218.

74. McRoberts, Scottish Reformation, 152-3; Arch. Hist. Soc. Jesu, v, 272; St.A.Recs., 151, 153, 257.

75. Papal Negs., 479.

76. Ibid., lxx; CSP Spanish, 1580-6, nos. 263, 266.

77. Durkan, 'Sidelights on the Early Jesuit Mission', 39.

erudition appointed him rector of the Jesuit college at Lyons.⁷⁸ He would appear to have been quite happy with the appointment in France, as following de Gouda's mission his opinion of the Scottish catholics was not complimentary: 'the catholics lead licentious lives, and are therefore cold'.⁷⁹

In 1582 he returned to Scotland and in the presence of Esme Stewart, Duke of Lennox tried to persuade James VI to return to the Pope's obedience.⁸⁰ His mission collapsed after the fall of Lennox and on account of the unwelcome interest shown in him by the English. In 1584, after a spell back in Lyons, he again returned to Scotland. He was accompanied by James Gordon, who together were described as the right-hand men of the Archbishop of Glasgow and Seton.⁸¹ Crichton, in fact, never reached Scotland and was captured en route by Dutch protestants, accused of complicity in the murder of William of Orange and handed over to the English. His capture was regarded as quite a coup as he was privy to the dealings between the Pope and the Duke of Guise. The English were confident that 'if well wrung no man can tell more'.⁸² Stafford, however, was not so sure that much information would be extracted from him, 'so secret be they [the Jesuits] in their naughty enterprises'.⁸³ In the following year, while in the Tower of London, Crichton wrote to Walsingham thanking him for his good treatment. A month later he wrote again,

78. Papal Negs., 389, 391; CSP Spanish, 1580-6, no. 237; Martin, A.L., 'Jesuits in the Massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day', Arch. Hist. Soc. Jesu, xliii (1974), 129.

79. Papal Negs., 495.

80. CSP Foreign, 1583, no. 10; CSP Spanish, 1580-6, nos. 212, 231.

81. CSP Foreign, 1584-5, pp. 30, 33.

82. Ibid., p. 107.

83. Ibid., p. 107.

requesting his release as he was now tormented by illness and infirmity.⁸⁴ These deprivations in the Tower did not stop him breaking his promise and returning to Scotland following his release. In 1587 he accompanied William Chisholm, bishop of Dunblane and envoy to Pope Sixtus VI, and Alexander MacQuhirrie from Paris to Scotland, where he seems to have made a favourable impression upon James VI.⁸⁵ This success tempered his earlier criticism of the Scottish catholics, who he now believed to be much stronger. In a report written in 1589 he commented on the special devotion which the Scots showed towards the Blessed Virgin Mary.⁸⁶

Crichton achieved a certain amount of success during the 1590s, influencing James and various leading nobles.⁸⁷ His volatile character was apparent in his involvement in the affairs of the Spanish Blanks in 1592, which was largely his own creation. The Spanish Blanks were papers signed by the Earls of Huntly, Erroll and Angus, which were intercepted en route to Spain and which were believed to back a Spanish invasion of Scotland.⁸⁸ In the same year Crichton and James Gordon were sent to Rome by James VI as the 'kyng had so great fear of ye nombre of catholicks and ye puissance of Pope and Spaine, yt he offered libertie of conscience'.⁸⁹ This royal favour did not last and in 1595 he fled Scotland and became involved

84. CSP Domestic, 1581-90, pp. 269, 282.

85. SCA SM/1/2/9;

86. Bellesheim, History of the Catholic Church in Scotland, iii, 336-7.

87. CSP Scot., x, no. 101.

88. Shearman, F., 'The Spanish Blanks', IR, iii (1952), 81-103.

89. Gordon, J.F.S., The Catholic Church in Scotland (Glasgow, 1869), 538.

with the Scottish seminaries on the continent.⁹⁰ Nevertheless, he continued to campaign for James and in 1600 was in Rome seeking the advancement of Chisholm as Bishop of Vaison and persuading the Pope and cardinals 'that his king is no heretic, but promises to be a catholic, and meanwhile will grant toleration in religion'.⁹¹ With James's accession to the English throne and no alleviation of the Catholic plight his enthusiasm waned, and he never returned to Scotland, dying in Lyons in 1617.

James Gordon (1541-1621) was the fifth son of George Gordon, 4th earl of Huntly.⁹² His links with Dunkeld were more tenuous than those of his colleagues. He was a kinsman of William Gordon, chancellor of Dunkeld, and of John Stewart, earl of Atholl.⁹³ He joined the Jesuits in September 1563 and was later a doctor at the Sorbonne and other French colleges. In 1569 he was a graduate of Vienna University and in the following year was dean of Theology.⁹⁴ He was described by William Crichton as 'a man of great learning [who] openly defeated his opponents in the public discussions which were held'.⁹⁵ In 1584 he was sent to Scotland, where his converts included Francis, 9th earl of Erroll, a kinsman of Edmund Hay. In 1588 he successfully disputed against several ministers in the presence of James and was hopeful of also converting the king. He spent the 1590s travelling between Scotland and Rome, but was unable

90. CSP Domestic, 1595-7, pp. 46, 55.

91. CSP Domestic, 1598-1601, pp. 418-9.

92. Scots Peerage, iv, 21, 537; Calderwood, History, v, 21; Law, History, 147.

93. Watt, Fasti, 112; Scots Peerage, iv, 537, 539.

94. Foley, English Province of the Society of Jesus, vii, 309.

95. Forbes-Leith, W., Pre-Reformation Scholars in Scotland in the XVI Century (Glasgow, 1915), 72.

to persuade Erroll and Huntly to side against the king, despite a grant of 10,000 crowns from the Pope.⁹⁶ In 1599 he finally admitted defeat and remained in exile at the Jesuit college in Paris until his death in 1620

Edmund Hay (1533-91) was the son of Peter Hay of Megginch, a staunch catholic and kinsman of the catholic Earl of Erroll.⁹⁷ He was related to William Crichton through his mother, Margaret Crichton of Ruthven. Hay was a graduate and regent of St. Andrews University, as well as Louvain and Rome.⁹⁸ He was described as a native of France, being one of those covered by the 'grande naturalisation' accorded to Scots in France at the time of Mary's marriage to the dauphin, Francis.⁹⁹ In 1562, following a spell at Louvain and his mission to Scotland with de Gouda, he joined the Jesuits.¹⁰⁰ Two years later he was teaching at the college of Innsbruck and quickly became a favourite of the archduchesses of Austria. Against his, and their wishes, he was made head of the college of Clermont in France, and even at this early stage was regarded as a possible superior of the Scottish Mission.¹⁰¹ In 1566, despite the reluctance of Polanco, Pope Pius V ordered him to Scotland, however his arrival was delayed, at Mary's request, until the following year.¹⁰² On his eventual return he was accompanied by

96. CSP Domestic, 1595-7, p. 27.

97. Crawford, D., Offices of State in Scotland (1726), 157; Scots Peerage, iv, 306; v, 219, 220.

98. St.A.Recs, 150, 255;

99. Teulet, Papiers d'Etat, i, 312, 315.

100. Papal Negs., 144, 147; Foley, English Province of the Society of Jesus, vii, 347.

101. Ibid., 483, 485; Martin, 'Jesuits in the Massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day', 113.

William Chisholm, bishop of Dunblane and Bertino Solara Moretta, ambassador to the duke of Savoy. It was claimed that Hay 'preached the catholic faith freely in the country and [made] many wise [answers] to the calumnies of the wicked'¹⁰³ During his mission he received an audience with Mary at which he put forward the proposal by Vincenzo Laureo, the bishop of Mondovi, to check the protestants in Scotland. This proposal she rejected, being unwilling to shed Scottish blood. Despite papal suspicion of Mary, Laureo was 'unsuccessfully persistent as he believed that catholicism 'would go to manifest ruin' with Mary's deprivation or death.¹⁰⁴ This was a dangerous time for Hay, who spent a month in hiding in Edinburgh and was in the burgh on the night of Darnley's murder.

Hay was highly thought of not only within the Society, but also by many protestants, including James Melville, who spoke highly of his sympathetic treatment of Thomas Smeaton, his fellow exile.¹⁰⁵ Hay would appear not to have been as radical as some of his colleagues, such as William Crichton, and his collection of books reflects the influence of the German reformers of the 'compromise school'. Despite his poor French Hay was rector of Pont-à-Mousson, as well as Clermont. He was chosen by the French Jesuits to attend the first meeting of the Society in Rome and served as assistant to Aquaviva for France and Germany.¹⁰⁶ In 1585 he returned to Scotland and along with John Dury preached in Perthshire and

102. CSP Scot., ii, no. 325.

103. Papal Negs., 507.

104. SCA JB/1/2 and 6; Papal Negs., 309.

105. Melville, Diary, 73-4.

106. Forbes-Leith, Pre-Reformation Scholars, 62.

Aberdeenshire, however the authorities were unable to locate their exact whereabouts.¹⁰⁷ They travelled incognito, disguising themselves as servants of Robert Bruce of Binnie, secretary to Archbishop Beaton. In 1589 and 1590 Hay was one of the Jesuits specifically sought by the government, however he eluded capture, dying in Rome on 4 November 1591.

William Murdoch (1539-1626) was a native of Dunkeld and shortly before the Reformation was in the service of Bishop Crichton.¹⁰⁸ During his later years Murdoch used the alias Stevenson, perhaps on account of some earlier association with the Stevenson family, which held benefices in Dunkeld. In correspondence written early in the seventeenth century Murdoch signs himself 'Steinsonius' and also makes reference to his 'foster father and foster mother'.¹⁰⁹ Following de Gouda's visit Murdoch returned with the party to Louvain and in 1563 joined the Jesuits. He was not as academically orientated as some of his colleagues, but was nevertheless a graduate of Louvain University.¹¹⁰ Murdoch demonstrated great evangelical zeal and travelled extensively under difficult conditions, and acquired the nickname 'Gib of the Myris'. He was also known as 'goodman of the Myris' because 'he past ay on fute throw the myris and was callit by Mr Robert Abercrombie Gibbie of the Myris [Makky gudman]'.¹¹¹ On his return to Scotland in 1586 he was mainly in Aberdeenshire, but also visited Dunkeld and nearby

107. Warrender Papers, i, 198; CSP Scot., viii, nos. 93, 100.

108. Dunk. Rent., 358.

109. SRO RH 9/2/180 and 284; TA, xii, 379.

110. Papal Negs, 148.

111. RPC, xiv, 478-90;

Murthly.¹¹² In 1592 he was banished from Aberdeen as he was 'sic a blasphemous heretic that he can not be sufferit in a republict'. After a spell at Pont-a-Mousson he returned to Scotland in 1594 as master of italic script at the grammar school in Edinburgh under Hercules Rollock. He was soon imprisoned in the Tolbooth for liaising with other Jesuits.¹¹³ In 1597 he was again in Edinburgh and Aberdeen and as late as 1607 was still travelling and celebrating the mass, using the alias McKie.¹¹⁴ After years of fruitless effort he died in exile at Pont-a-Mousson in 1626.¹¹⁵

Thomas Smeaton (1536-83) was the son of Andrew Smeaton of Haltoun of Findogask, near Perth.¹¹⁶ He was a student of Perth Grammar School and St. Andrews University and a clerk of the diocese of Dunblane.¹¹⁷ James Melville described him as one of the 'trie of the lernedest in Europe', the others being Andrew Melville and Alexander Arbuthnot, the principals of Glasgow and Aberdeen Universities. At the Reformation Smeaton left St. Andrews for France with, amongst others, Andrew Melville, who later failed to dissuade him from joining the Jesuits in September 1566.¹¹⁸ Following a spell as professor of Humanity at Paris University he entered the Jesuit College at Clermont, on the understanding that

112. Durkan, 'William Murdoch and the early Jesuit mission in Scotland', 4.

113. Ibid., 4.

114. Pitcairn, Trials, pt.2, 530.

115. Bellesheim, History of the Catholic Church in Scotland, iii, 342.

116. RMS, iv, no. 1536.

117. GUA Reg. Supp., fo. 2936.

118. Melville, Diary, 73; Foley, English Province of the Society of Jesus, vii, 716.

the order was 'the maist lerned, halie and exquisite in the Papistrie'.¹¹⁹ In October 1571 Hay recommended him to the college of Billom, but by the following year Smeaton had changed his views, his faith having been shaken by visits to Rome's prisons.¹²⁰ After seeking refuge in the English embassy in Paris he was appointed schoolmaster at Colchester and on his return to Scotland was minister of Paisley Abbey and Girvan.¹²¹ In 1578 he was a dean of faculty at Glasgow University and was appointed principal in 1581, following a spell as moderator of the General Assembly.¹²² His contribution to the protestant church was, however, shortlived, as he died in 1583 aged only forty-seven.¹²³

James Tyrie (1543-97) was the younger son of David Tyrie of Drunkilbo, in the parish of Meigle. Although of no great standing itself, the family was related to the more powerful Grays and Humes.¹²⁴ Tyrie was another graduate of St. Andrews and after studying with William Murdoch at Louvain entered the Society in August 1563. In August 1564 he was in Rome studying philosophy and the works of Aristotle.¹²⁵ He was later professor of theology at Clermont and assistant to the Jesuit general for France and Germany. Although he published little he was highly respected for his skill in debate. Through his brother David, who married a Fotheringham and

119. Calderwood, History, iii, 405.

120. Melville, Diary, 73-5; Spottiswoode, History, ii, 319-20.

121. Scott, Fasti, iii, 162, 410.

122. Durkan, J. and Kirk, J., The University of Glasgow, 1451-1597 (Glasgow, 1977), 334-5; BUK, ii, 612.

123. McKenzie, Lives, iii, 197.

124. Douglas, Peerage, i, 670; HMC Hatfield, iv, 122.

125. Papal Negs, 485; Foley, English Province of the Society of Jesus, vii, 792.

became a protestant, he came to the attention of John Knox. Following a letter sent to him in 1566, dealing with the visibility of the true church, the reformer wrote An Answer to a Letter of a Jesuit named Tyrie and in 1574 Lord Ogilvy organised a dispute between Tyrie and Andrew Melville in Paris.¹²⁶ Despite the report of 1594 attributed to him, concerning the state of Scotland, there is no evidence of Tyrie ever being sent there, although in 1593 he was accused of treason there for his part in the affair of the Spanish Blanks.¹²⁷ Tyrie spent a large part of his career in Rome and according to an English report played an important role in holding together the church in Italy.¹²⁸ Tyrie died in Rome on 20 March 1597.

One man connected with the Jesuit missions who was distrusted more than any other was Stephen Wilson. Wilson was never permitted to join the Society, but served as a messenger between Scotland and Rome. Wilson must have been a most unsuitable candidate as in the early years entry into the Society was a casual process and it was hoped that motivation would be instilled in a seminary or at a later stage of membership. It has been commented that 'the great advantage possessed by the society is that it could find a place for most whether or not they were impelled by the highest motives'.¹²⁹ Whatever his motives, and there is no doubt that Wilson was financially well rewarded, he was a very active member of the

126. McCrie, T., Life of Andrew Melville (Edinburgh, 1819), i, 56; Forbes-Leith, Pre-Reformation Scholars, 72-3.

127. RPC, v, 53.

128. CSP Foreign, 1592-3, p. 377.

129. Clancy, 'English Jesuits', 143, 145.

mission, especially during the 1560s.

There is some doubt as to Wilson's identity, however in the light of the close links which existed between Dunkeld and the Jesuit missions it is probable that he was the former treasurer of Dunkeld, Stephen Culross, alias Wilson. Culross first appears in 1532 as a chorister of Dunblane cathedral and again in 1539 as vicar of Fintry, in the diocese of Glasgow.¹³⁰ In 1544 he was appointed treasurer of Orkney and held office, along with the appropriated prebends of Ringansay and Stronsay, until 1557.¹³¹ In the Orkney Records he is described as a notary of the diocese of St. Andrews and in 1548 appeared as a witness to a charter as vicar of Dron, in the diocese of Dunblane.¹³² At some stage around the time of the Reformation the vicar-perpetual of that parish was John Moncreiff, whom Culross succeeded as treasurer.¹³³ At the same time as being treasurer of Orkney, he was also treasurer of Dunkeld (1534-61), and shortly after the Reformation was the unsuccessful litigant in a dispute over the treasurership with Robert Abercrombie, who later joined the Jesuits.¹³⁴

It is unclear when Culross first adopted the alias Wilson, however he was already using the name prior to his litigation with Abercrombie. In May 1560 Wilson, described as a kinsman of the Bishop of Dunblane, was to act as a messenger for the regent however his journey to France was delayed.¹³⁵ In June he was still in

130. RMS, iii, nos. 1257, 1532, 1997, 2036, 2488; Fraser, Keir, 364.

131. Watt, Fasti, 257; RMS, iii, no. 3202.

132. Orkney Records, 341; PB Gaw, no. 7.

133. Watt, Fasti, 115; ADCP, 575.

134. Watt, Fasti, 115; Dunk. Rent., 347-8.

135. CSP Scot., i, no. 797.

Edinburgh Castle, but by November had fled to Dunbar, having escaped arrest in Fife.¹³⁶ He appears to have spent the early years of the Reformation flitting between Scotland, England, France and Rome, mainly on royal business. In 1561 Wilson, James Thornton, another unsuccessful litigant for a Dunkeld prebend, and John Leslie were referred to by Knox as 'servants of the Roman harlot'.¹³⁷ In the same year he was also described as Mary's 'weil belovit oratoure and clerk' and was rewarded with lands in Galloway.¹³⁸ In 1562 he accompanied de Gouda during part of his mission and was responsible for the organisation of the envoy's audience with Mary. It would appear that Wilson was William Crichton's imprudent friend, who spoke too publicly of the arrival of the newcomers.¹³⁹ After the Scottish mission Wilson returned to Louvain, where he had been a student in 1553.¹⁴⁰ In 1564-5 Polanco, writing to the rector of Louvain, said he was glad to hear about the messenger 'Maestro Stephano', and was interested to see how he would behave. He was reputed to be 'poco quieto' and it was hoped that the 'Scots Carmelite may be helped in all that appertains to God's service, but do not mention entrance into the Society. We should not take him even with the Pope's dispensation'.¹⁴¹ Wilson's earlier visits to Rome had been taken in rather bad part by his Italian hosts, who were offended by his northern simplicity.¹⁴² In 1565 his activities attracted

136. Ibid., i, nos. 812, 918.

137. Knox, History, i, 373.

138. RSS, v, no. 824.

139. Papal Negs., 114n.

140. Ibid., 148;

141. Ibid., 486.

142. Ibid., 486.

considerable attention. On telling Randolph of the plans for a catholic league, the Englishman denounced him as 'a fit minister for these devilish devices'.¹⁴³ Later in that year Bedford referred to him as 'the rankest papist in Scotland' and Randolph accused him of having 'the whole practice with the Louvanians'.¹⁴⁴ During 1566 and 1567 Wilson was again on the move between the Scottish court, Paris and Rome. He was well rewarded for his labours and during the 1560s was presented to numerous benefices, including Kirkcaldy, Glendevon, St. Bryce and Kinghorn Easter. He was also regularly at the horn for non-payment of their thirds.¹⁴⁵ His movements thereafter are less well-documented, though he seems to have remained a royal messenger during the early years of the 1570s. In March 1572-3 he was arrested, but was released and returned to France, having first disclosed information concerning the Catholic League. In January 1574 he was at home in Glendevon, where he was charged by the messenger-at-arms, Charles Murray, to pay the thirds of that benefice, which had been unpaid since 1568.¹⁴⁶ Although it is unclear, he appears to have been fairly inactive during the 1580s, though he continued to accumulate benefices. In 1582 he was presented to Moffat, in the diocese of Glasgow.¹⁴⁷ In 1591 he was back in the limelight, when it was proposed that he be deposed following the discovery of his name in correspondence between Robert

143. CSP Scot., ii, no. 335.

144. CSP Foreign, 1564-5, nos. 1703, 1711.

145. RSS, v, nos. 2607, 2908, 3093; vi, no. 1441.

146. SRO RH 11/1/2 fo. 2v; Dunblane Visit., 24.

147. RSS, viii, no. 860.

Abercrombie and William Crichton.¹⁴⁸ It is not evident, however, whether any further action was taken against him prior to his death in 1601.¹⁴⁹

As stated his identity is somewhat unclear and it is uncertain what was the relationship between the Dunkeld treasurer, the Jesuit messenger and the Scots Carmelite. The picture is further complicated by another Stevin Wilson, the 'old messe priest' of Neilston. This Wilson had celebrated mass there during the 1560s and 1570s and in 1580, after 'mony years rebell [was] put to the horne for continewall dissobeydience in his weikit and dampnabill abusing of the sacraments, saying of messe and making and desolving of maragis at his plesour'.¹⁵⁰ Neilston was in the diocese of Glasgow, by whose archbishop the messenger Wilson was employed. The strongest link however is that between Dunkeld and the Jesuits and especially the relationship between the two treasurers Culross, alias Wilson and Abercrombie.

It is apparent from an overall study of the Scottish missions and of the individual careers of the Scottish fathers that the most important periods of Jesuit activity were the 1560s and the 1580s. The influence of Bishop Crichton was crucial, not only in encouraging young kinsmen and servants to join the Society, but also in supporting their activities when they later returned. There is no

148. Scott, Fasti, iv, 275; CSP Scot., xi, no. 20.

149. Reg. Pres., iii, fos. 46, 46v, 48.

150. RPC, ii, 273.

doubt that most of those who joined the Jesuits knew each other prior to leaving Scotland and may have been part of a pre-meditated plan to provide opposition to the reformed church. It is possible to find family, academic and professional links between many of the Jesuits and with other leading Scottish catholics.

Such close links and the support of Robert Crichton were, however, not enough to ensure success. Even in the decade after the Reformation when recusant activity was at its peak, especially around Dunkeld, the Papacy was unwilling to commit men and money to what it considered to be a lost cause. The initial enthusiasm surrounding de Gouda's visit quickly disappeared when it became apparent that the catholic church in Scotland could offer little resistance. Following Edmund Hay's mission in 1567 there was little Jesuit activity until the 1580s. Abercrombie, Crichton, Gordon, Hay and Murdoch were all active during the second half of that decade around Dunkeld and Murthly and the north-east of Scotland. Abercrombie and Murdoch struggled on during the early years of the seventeenth century, but as with all previous missions their efforts were hampered by a lack of support at home and in Rome. Their successes were fleeting and years of hard work could be quickly undone by a change in the political climate. Like Robert Crichton and his catholic faction in Dunkeld the Jesuits offered a courageous, but largely ineffective, opposition to the protestants.

CHAPTER SIX

CATHOLIC, CONSERVATIVE OR PROTESTANT?
THE POST-REFORMATION DIOCESE OF DUNKELD

Despite its reputation as a conservative diocese, the establishment of the kirk in Dunkeld followed a pattern similar to that in many other parts of Scotland. Too much has perhaps been made of the conservative nature of the diocese, where certain aspects of the establishment of the kirk were not as haphazard as previously suspected. Problems are encountered in trying to quantify the success of the kirk and the parameters used to measure this success must be treated with caution. An analysis of the two best measurements of success, the establishment of reformed clergy and of kirk sessions, produces varying conclusions.

Professor Cowan maintains that the statistics relating to the settlement of a parish ministry are 'the only index available for judging the reformers' success after 1560'.¹ Despite the various problems of administration and finance, there was in Dunkeld, from an early date, a satisfactory number of protestant clergy. By 1567-8 75% of Dunkeld parishes were served by a protestant clergyman and by 1574 this had risen to 90%. Professor Donaldson in a survey of three areas, Perthshire, Galloway and Orkney, concludes that in relation to the recruitment of clergy 'the numbers were found with quite remarkable rapidity'. His comparison of the sums of stipends for 1562 and 1569 suggests that the number of clergy remained fairly constant throughout the decade and that the kirk was not as short of

1. Cowan, Scottish Reformation, 177.

recruits as suspected.² Although his survey covered the whole of Perthshire it would appear equally relevant to Dunkeld, which covered a considerable part of the county. In 1567-8 in Perthshire, which included parishes belonging to Dunblane and St. Andrews as well as to Dunkeld, there were seventy-eight clergymen for one hundred parishes, and similar ratios were to be found in Galloway and Orkney. Despite the relative remoteness of parts of these three areas the figures were not significantly higher for more populated or accessible areas. In Aberdeenshire in 1563 75% of the diocese's 102 parishes had a protestant incumbent and in 1567 in East Lothian there were twenty clergymen serving twenty-five parishes.³ A further similarity exists between Perthshire and Aberdeenshire in that, despite the number of protestant clergy, there was still a significant number of catholic clergy and laymen.

What was initially haphazard in the development of the kirk was the quality of the clergy recruited, hence the greater numbers appointed to the subordinate offices of exhorter and reader, created for those unqualified for the ministry.⁴ In Dunkeld a large proportion of the clergy were less well-qualified readers, unlike in East Lothian where a higher proportion of the twenty clergymen were ministers.⁵ Although many Dunkeld ministers were graduates, during the early years of the Reformation more able candidates for the ministry were drafted in from outwith the diocese. This reliance

2. Donaldson, Scottish Reformation, 87; confirmed by Dr. Kirk, Patterns of Reform, 130-1, 135-6, 152-3, 328.3. Ibid., 88.

4. FBD, 105-7.

5. Donaldson, Scottish Reformation, 88.

on ministers recruited from elsewhere and on younger graduates is reflected in the small number of promotions from the readership to the ministry.

Continuity was an important factor in the successful establishment of the kirk, not only between the pre-Reformation and post-Reformation churches, but also during the post-Reformation period itself. Over 60% of the post-Reformation clergy had pre-Reformation ecclesiastical antecedents and were drawn from amongst the parochial, secular and regular clergy. Especially important were those clergymen who conformed and served within the same parish. Many of these pre-Reformation clergymen served for a considerable number of years after 1560 and at least 25% of the protestant clergy served for over twenty years.

There is less evidence regarding the establishment of kirk sessions. As a result of the establishment of the presbytery of Dunkeld in late 1581 or early 1582 one can assume that there was the requisite number of kirk sessions. In 1586 the presbytery was re-organised to comprise thirty parishes and during the following seventy years underwent further changes. The influence of these kirk sessions is unclear, but it would seem likely that in some parishes, such as Inchaiden and Killin, the eldership was dominated by a local family,, and was not representative of the parish as a whole.⁶

The involvement of the nobles and lairds was crucial to the establishment of the kirk and to a much lesser extent to the survival

6. Hunter, Dunkeld, i, 386-390; Calderwood, History, iii, 587, 598; BUK, ii, 470, 473.

of the catholic faith. The majority of them accepted the reformed church and irrespective of their motives played an important role at national and local levels. Although their conception of this role differed from that of the kirk its importance lay in the fact that 'it gave them an ideological basis for their exercise of power, adding a crucial religious dimension to their traditional social role'. The strength of family ties ensured the conformity of large numbers of kin, and powerful nobles, such as the fifth earl of Argyll, provided the lead for other branches of their families. Through his kinsman in Breadalbane, Campbell of Glenorchy, he was able to influence the Campbells of Glenlyon, Lawers and Lix, as well as some of the weaker clans, such as the McNabs of Bovain. Many nobles and lairds were also patrons of protestant clergy and through patronage and their own interpretation of the 'godly magistracy' were able to exert considerable influence within their parishes.⁷

The conformity of the populace as a whole is more difficult to gauge as 'the daily piety of the reformed laity remains largely invisible, having left relatively few traces on the historical record'.⁸ Much of this piety was expressed within the family group in the form of Bible reading, mealtime prayers and hymn-singing, and little record remains even of recordable events, such as weddings or baptisms. Conformity would appear to have been achieved at an

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7. Wormald, J., Court, Kirk and Community (London, 1981), 124;
Brown, K.M., 'In Search of the Godly Magistrate in Reformation Scotland', Journal of Ecclesiastical History, xl (1989), 553-81.
8. Chaunu, P., ed., The Reformation (Netherlands, 1989), 251;
Kirk, J., Patterns of Reform, xvi.

earlier date in the towns and much later in the rural areas. T.C. Smout believes that the towns were reformed by the 1580s and that by this time 'the average lowlander began to attend church regularly, to pay reasonable attention to the sermon and to give a reasonable amount of respect to elders'.⁹ If church attendance is considered a measure of conformity, the Highlands took considerably longer to conform as seventeenth-century reports testify to the high levels of absenteeism amongst parishioners.¹⁰

The most important factors in the survival of catholicism were the influence of Bishop Robert Crichton and those weaknesses within the reformed church, which allowed him to act so freely. The relative unimportance of the catholic lairds meant that their influence was localised and most of those who could have used their authority chose not to. The influence of the Jesuit mission and the religious houses is unclear, but they would appear to have been generally ineffectual.

The measurement of the extent of such recusant or non-conformist activity is very difficult. In many places there is evidence of non-attendance of protestant services, but no corresponding increase in catholic worship: an indication of religious inactivity rather than any overt catholic support. It would appear in many cases that then, as now, general apathy or inclement weather was as powerful a deterrent as any catholic loyalties. It is doubtful whether government or church records,

9. Smout, T.C., A History of the Scottish People, 1560-1830 (London, 1969), 78.

10. Parishes, 175, 187; Kirk, Patterns of Reform, 449-50.

or contemporary reports such as those of the Jesuits Robert Abercrombie and James Tyrie or the protestant diarist James Melville, give a true indication of the extent of recusancy. The protestants' perception of the domestic catholic threat was influenced by the situation in Europe, hence the largely unwarranted fear of the enemy within. Both protestant and catholic propagandists were prepared to overestimate the extent of recusancy, the former to highlight the conceived danger and the latter to encourage support at home and abroad.

Since the majority of the population in 1560 was still catholic one can assume that the acceptance of protestantism was a gradual process. Irrespective of the adequate provision of reformed clergy and the popular awareness of the need for reform, religious habits did not change overnight. It is surprising therefore that some contemporary reports narrate the virtual disappearance of catholic worship. In 1560 the Chronicle of Fortingall records that it had been 'the symmyr afoyr that the gret steugh com in Scotland, anent the fayth that our progenitouris had lang tym afoyr that ... nayn durst sa mes na sacramentis usyit in the ald fasson'.¹¹ It also reports an absence of the mass during 1560 and 1561 except in a certain location, the identity of which is unclear. In the same year surprise was expressed that, despite the act of 1560, which stated that 'no manner of person or persons say mass nor yet her mass, nor be present thereat', there were some catholics who 'stubbornlie perseveris in their wickit idolatrie'.¹² This

11. Taymouth Bk., 129, 130.

12. APS, ii, 535.

statement suggests that the Reformation was widely accepted and that catholics were, even at this early stage, in the minority. Equally swift was the 'reformation' of many of the local religious houses, including Scone, the Perth Charterhouse, Coupar Angus and Dunkeld itself. Bishop John Jewel of Salisbury, remarked to the Italian reformer, Peter Martyr, that even in 1559 'not a vestige of the ancient superstition and idolatry is left'.¹³

Although these reports indicate considerable success for the protestants it would be incorrect to suggest that the reformed faith was based upon widespread support. In 1561 Mary's continued celebration of the mass while on progress did not provoke a great public outcry, except from Knox, who claimed that 'all those parts she polluted with the idolatrous mass'.¹⁴ In the following year de Gouda, the papal envoy, claimed that a large number of the population were catholic, despite the fact that 'no religious rite is celebrated in any part of the kingdom; no mass ever said in public, except in the queen's chapel and none of the sacraments are publicly administered with catholic ceremonial'.¹⁵ Bishop Crichton continued to celebrate the mass throughout the 1560s in various parts of his diocese. Other catholic reports claimed that many Scots 'have chaplains of their own to say mass in their houses' and that 'the bishops say mass in some of their monasteries without suffering for it'.¹⁶ Another report by the General Assembly in 1572 indicated

13. Bamff Chrs., 88; Knox, History, i, 162-3; Pitscottie, Historie, 145-6; Perth Burgh Court Bk., B59/2/5, 355; Camerius de Scotorum, 271; RMS, iv, no. 1380; Kirk, J., 'Politics of the Best Reformed Kirks', SHR, lix (1980), 27; Kirk, J., Patterns of Reform, 155.

14. Knox, History, i, 326.

15. Papal Negs., 135, 137.

16. Forbes-Leith, Narratives, 197; Papal Negs., 493.

that the mass was still being celebrated in Dunkeld and called for the gathering together of professors of religion for the 'apprehending of the mess sayers'.¹⁷ In 1580 a report by the Jesuit Robert Abercrombie suggested that there were large numbers of priests in Scotland, and although he would not divulge their whereabouts, they were, he claimed, 'all over the kingdom and there is no town where there are still not priests'.¹⁸ Other Jesuit reports spoke of large numbers of converts, including many leading noblemen. However in terms of the survival of catholicism in Dunkeld this revival came too late, as by 1585 Crichton was dead and the main problems of the establishment of the parish ministry in the process of being resolved.¹⁹

The claim that the catholics were inactive during the 1570s is not altogether correct. During the 1570s Atholl was continually being admonished by the General Assembly, however the kirk's handling of him is a reflection of the limited amount of catholic persecution. Although he was perceived as a threat by the protestants, Atholl was careful not to let his religious beliefs compromise his political ambition. Oliphant, despite being a member of the government during the mid-1560s, was largely insignificant and his defence of the catholic faith consisted of little more than the harassment of local protestant clergy and the encouragement of a policy of non-cooperation amongst the tenants of his protestant neighbours. The

17. BUK, i, 257.

18. Anderson, W.J., 'Narratives of the Scottish Reformation', IR, vii (1956), 32.

19. CSP Domestic, Addenda, 1580-1625, p. 155; Forbes-Leith, Narratives, 207-8; CSP Spanish, 1580-6, no. 578; Watt, Fasti, 99-100.

involvement of the recusant gentry, such as the Abercrombies of Murthly, Hays of Megginch and Crichtons of Innernytie, was most apparent in their support of the activities of priests and Jesuits, including Robert Abercrombie, William Crichton and Edmund Hay. Contemporary reports of the 1590s claim that one-third of the nobility were catholic, however during the seventeenth century the number would appear to have declined.²⁰ Fewer nobles were practising catholics, though many 'were allergic to the ethos of the new religious [catholicism] was a politico-religious preference, which could not issue in regular sacramental practice owing to the great scarcity of priests'.²¹

The major factor in much of the recusant activity around Dunkeld during the immediate post-Reformation period was the influence of Robert Crichton. Despite his reputation as an unscrupulous intriguer there is little doubt about Crichton's commitment to the catholic church. His loyalty has been questioned, however he had little to gain by remaining catholic, and everything to lose. His personal conduct and influence inspired a great deal of loyalty and ensured the continued support of many members of the chapter, certainly until his forfeiture in 1571 and in some cases until his death in 1585. Crichton's influence is apparent, to a lesser extent, outwith the chapter and there is evidence of connections with clergymen in Edinburgh and Glasgow. Within his own cathedral the influence of other groups is also apparent and during

20. Estimate of the Nobility of Scotland during the Minority of James VI, 62-72; CSP Scot., x, no. 713; Nau, C., History of Mary Stewart, 140; Brown, 'The Godly Magistrate', 575, 579.

21. Matthew, D., Scotland under Charles I (London, 1955), 20.

Bothwell's ascendancy a number of the earl's kinsmen were members of the chapter. Surprisingly the influence of Atholl is less apparent, even though he was a practising catholic. Crichton's conservatism was also apparent in the feuing patterns of the chapter and during the 1560s feus were granted to leading catholics and supporters of his faction. Later, during his second term of office, grants were to local occupant feuars, indicating moral rather than political considerations at a time when Crichton was less politically active.

From the evidence relating to the recusant activity of the cathedral dignitaries, prebendaries and chaplains it is apparent that many members of the chapter remained loyal to the catholic church. The numbers involved are large enough to suggest that Crichton created within Dunkeld what might be termed a 'catholic faction'. It involved not only Dunkeld clergymen, but also attracted clerics from other religious orders. This faction consisted mainly of the cathedral dignitaries and chaplains, the majority of whom were known to have been involved in celebrations of the mass during the 1560s. More tenuous is the involvement of the prebendaries, but while it would be incorrect to dub them catholic by association, many did have close links with well-known catholics. The fact that many prebendaries were non-resident and not directly influenced by Crichton may account for the lower incidence of recusancy.

Such was Crichton's influence that the collapse of the faction coincided with his own forfeiture in 1571. After the re-organisation of the chapter in 1571 examples of recusant activity became more infrequent.²² The mass, however, was still being

²². NLS Adv. MSS 17.1.3 fos. 367, 369.

celebrated in Dunkeld and in the following year there are instances of recusant activity amongst various chaplains within the chapter.²³ In the 1580s when Crichton was restored to the bishopric, both he and John Barton, the dean, were still referred to as papists.²⁴

That Crichton survived as bishop until 1571 is a reflection not only of his own persistence, but also of the inability of the kirk to apprehend him. Not only did the kirk lack the judicial machinery it would also appear to have lacked the determination. During the 1560s John Winram, the superintendent of Fife and Strathearn, ventured little beyond St. Andrews, hence Crichton's ability to act freely with little threat of prosecution. This reluctance to pursue the recusant bishop becomes more understandable when one considers the close links which existed between churchmen before and after the Reformation. A case in point is the sederunt of the provincial council of 1549, which included Winram and a further nine churchmen with links with Dunkeld. The others included later recusants: James Hepburn, dean of Dunkeld, William Cranston, a Dunkeld prebendary and friars Andrew Abercrombie and Robert Leitch. Two other prebendaries, Abraham Crichton and John Stevenson, did not long survive the Reformation and would have been unlikely to conform even had they lived longer. Another member, Donald Campbell, commendator of Coupar Angus, was reluctant to commit himself to the reformed faith and there is insufficient evidence to indicate that he became

23. BUK, i, 283, 287.

24. CSP Scot., vii, no. 291; Laing, D., Original Letters of Mr. John Colville, 1582-1603 (Bannatyne club, 1858), 83-4.

a protestant. These members of the church hierarchy had developed personal and professional relationships which continued after the Reformation and which influenced their attitudes towards each other.²⁵

For sometime after 1560 there were traces of a continuing devotion to catholicism amongst the parish clergy and even amongst those who had apparently conformed and accepted office in the reformed church. Other than those parish clergy connected with the chapter the number of non-conformist clergy was small. Less than 5% were involved in recusant activity and few seem to have been persistent offenders. Apart from the cathedral clergy the activities of these recusant clergy were random and on a local basis.

The influence of the Society of Jesus was limited. The activities of the Jesuit fathers were always shrouded in secrecy and their resources too thinly spread. The extent of the threat which they posed was exaggerated by the kirk and in reality their successes were intermittent. Nevertheless, despite their small numbers and limited resources, they travelled and preached extensively. Their links with Dunkeld were close as many of the fathers were local men or had connections with the chapter. It is no coincidence that they should emerge from around Dunkeld, as Crichton was a well-known catholic in Scotland and Rome, where he had been a close acquaintance of Caraffa, later Pope Pius IV.²⁶

The Jesuits were unable to maintain the momentum gained during

25. Patrick, Statutes, 84.

26. Papal Negs., 417.

the early years of the mission and the disappointments of the missions of the mid-1560s were followed by a decade of inactivity. The revival of the 1580s caused more consternation than actual converts and seems to have had little impact on Dunkeld. Although they were known to have been active in the area, especially at the Abercrombie residence at Murthly, there is little evidence of contact with the chapter after de Gouda's mission in 1562. The establishment of the kirk left them and the Papacy disillusioned and their talents were put to more profitable use within the Jesuit mission elsewhere.

Unlike the Jesuits the monastic houses connected with Dunkeld initially chose to distance themselves from the Reformation. The inactivity of the commendators was instrumental in ensuring the non-conformity of the majority of the members of their convents. The notable exception was St. Andrews Priory, where Lord James Stewart and John Winram encouraged the canons to conform.²⁷ Alexander Gordon was a controversial and unwelcome supporter of the reformed church, but does not seem to have pressurised the convent of Inchaffray to conform.²⁸ At Coupar Angus Donald Campbell and Leonard Leslie made overtures to the kirk, but little evidence exists to prove that they too conformed.²⁹ The inactivity of the religious orders is clearly demonstrated by the small number of conforming clergy and the lack of recusant activity within their houses.

Although recusant activity was not widespread, non-conformity

27. BUK, i, 222;

28. BUK, i, 28; Knox, History, ii, 72-3; Wod. Misc., 359.

29. CSP Scot., i, no. 455; CA Rent., i, 114; APS, iii, 127-9.

could take various forms and survived for several centuries following the Reformation. Recusancy involved the non-attendance of communion and other services, often accompanied by attendance of the mass. Non-conformity could involve 'simple piety, less overtly catholic, but nonetheless associated with older beliefs and such traditional practices, steeped in folk-lore, as the veneration of shrines and pilgrimages to Christ's well whose water was reputed to heal diseases'.³⁰ After centuries of catholic worship it is hardly surprising that pre-Reformation practices lingered on and that over the years such beliefs and practices became distorted. During the eighteenth century writers still spoke of superstitions which were 'relics of popish days' and claimed that 'what religion clung to them in many places was but fragments of the half-forgotten, wholly perverted popery of old days'.³¹

Those superstitions which survived were centred around relics, holy wells and baptismal and burial practices. Dunkeld was famous for its Columban relics, which were reputedly used as a cure for the plague. Equally famous were the relics of St. Fillan, which due to the safe-keeping of their traditional custodians, the Dewars, survived the Reformation intact.³² The Dewars were a constant source of irritation to the established church, but during the immediate post-Reformation period were removed from their ancestral crofts by the burden of increased taxation. The source of the dispute,

30. Stirling Presb. Recs., xxxiv.

31. Graham, H.G., Social Life in Scotland in the eighteenth century (London, 1900), ii, 62.

32. SRO Breadlbane Muns. GD 112/1/23; Gillies, Breadalbane, 64-82.

the relics, were never acquired by the church, and remained with the Dewars, despite the clan's dispersal around the world. Healing wells for the cure of a variety of ailments were scattered throughout the diocese and retained their popularity despite the General Assemblies' attempts to prevent pilgrims visiting them.³³ These 'pieces of ground dedicat to Satan' were common around Dunkeld and also in highland areas, such as Strathfillan, Trinafour, Fearnan and Struan. They were used for the cure of insanity, measles, whooping-cough and numerous other conditions. Baptismal practices included the early baptism of children, which proved difficult in the remoter parishes, where the minister was an infrequent visitor. In Glenlyon the Toisteachad motehill was used for the burial of unbaptised infants and as late as 1688 the Glenlyon presbytery retained the catholic practice of burying suicide victims by night outside consecrated ground, despite the earlier attempts of the reader Duncan McNiven to abolish the practice. In these remoter areas what often survived was a strange mixture of Christian and non-Christian traditions, in which catholic practice became intermingled with protestant.

After 1560 such non-conformity and superstition came to be correlated with witchcraft, for which the kirk advocated cure through the gospel.³⁴ In Scotland the wave of witch-hunting coincided with the consolidation of protestantism and was inspired by earlier papal bulls and theological tracts, such as Jacob Sprenger's

33. BUK, ii, 638.

34. Sanderson, M.B.H., 'Catholic Recusancy in sixteenth-century Scotland', IR, xxi (1970), 87-107; see Lerner, C., Enemies of God. The witch-hunt in Scotland (London, 1981).

Malleus Maleficarum of 1486. In the Witchcraft Act of 1563 the General Assembly upheld the view put forward in the Book of Discipline that the state should punish such offences by death.³⁵ Erskine of Dun, the superintendent of Angus and Mearns, held a royal commission 'to enable him to suppress traditional and deviant behaviour as witchcraft'.³⁶ Despite the instructions to visitors and ministers to record cases of witchcraft examples are not readily available in Dunkeld; the most prominent was that of Lady Atholl.³⁷

Despite such recusant and non-conformist activity acceptance of the Reformation within the diocese was fairly widespread and other than around Dunkeld itself there was little concerted effort to defy the kirk. In other areas opposition was usually at the instigation of the local laird or was of a social or economic nature. Once promulgated protestantism spread steadily, with the establishment of the ministry and the kirk sessions varying from area to area. Undercurrents of catholic activity were to be expected with the involvement in the kirk of a large number of pre-Reformation clerics, and it was not until the 1570s and a new generation of churchmen that the kirk's position began to be consolidated. This initially haphazard development is most appropriately explained by the concept of parochial anarchy, whereby each parish responded differently to the various internal and external pressures applied by the laity and

35. APS, ii, 539; BUK, i, 60; FBD, 165-6.

36. Bardgett, F., Faith, Families and Faction: the Scottish Reformation in Angus and the Mearns (Edinburgh Ph.D., 1987), 302.

37. Dunblane Visit., 3; Stirling Presb. Recs., xxxiv; Diurnal, 185, 186; Pitcairn, Trials, i, 14; Black, G.F., Calendar of Cases of Witchcraft in Scotland (New York, 1938), 21-2.

the clergy. This parochial anarchy was as damaging to the survival of catholicism as to the establishment of protestantism, as each movement was faced with the problem of creating and maintaining a national organisation within a localised society.³⁸

38. Wormald, Court, Kirk and Community, 133; Cowan, Scottish Reformation, 180.

(7) APPENDICES.

- (a) Abbreviations
- (b) Parishes in the Diocese of Dunkeld, with deaneries and institutions to which appropriated
- (c) Parish Clergy in the Diocese of Dunkeld, 1560-85
- (d) Cathedral Clergy of Dunkeld, 1560-85

These appendices are designed to give an outline of the careers of individual clergymen and are by no means an exhaustive list of references. They narrate basic details, such as antecedents, status and length of service.

Much of the information is drawn from compilations such as the Thirds of Benefices, The Register of Ministers and the Register of Assignations, and is supplemented by a wide range of primary and secondary sources. Fuller biographies and other relevant information may be found in many of the sources listed in the bibliography, especially general works, such as Haw's, Scott's and Watt's Fasti .

Each section is generally self-explanatory. The parish clergy in appendix (c) are listed under parishes, which are arranged alphabetically. Cross-referencing is by reference to the other parishes in which that clergyman served. In appendix (d) the cathedral clergy are cross-referenced by reference to the cleric's most senior office within the chapter. Cross-referencing between appendices (c) and (d) is by reference to the cleric's parish or his position within the chapter.

(a) Abbreviations

archd.	archdeacon
can.	canon
chanc.	chancellor
cl.	cleric
comm.	commissary
commiss.	commissioner
cp.	chaplain
cur.	curate
dn.	dean
exec.	executor
exh.	exhorter
F.	father
fr.	friar
GA.	General Assembly
min.	minister
mk.	monk
not.	notary
par.	parson
preb.	prebendary
prec.	precentor
proc.	procurator
prov.	provost
rdr.	reader
rec.	rector
subch.	subchanter
subdn.	subdean
sen.	senator of the College of Justice
stud.	student
treas.	treasurer
vic.	vicar
vic.pen.	vicar pensioner
vic.perpet.	vicar perpetual

b.	born
ben.	benefice
c.	circa
d.	died
dem.	demitted
dioc.	diocese
esch.	escheated
occ.	occured
Ref.	Reformation
resig.	resigned
succ.	succeeded
supp.	supposed
Univ.	University
<	before
>	after

(b) Parishes in the Diocese of Dunkeld:
 (with deanery and institution to which appropriated)

Abercorn (South of Forth), mensal Dunkeld.
 Aberdalgie (Fife and Strathearn), mensal Dunkeld.
 Aberdour (Fife and Strathearn), Inchcolm Abbey.
 Aberlady (South of Forth), par. mensal Dunkeld, vic. preb. Dunkeld.
 Abernyte (Angus), vicars choral Dunkeld.
 Alva (Fife and Strathearn), Cambuskenneth Abbey.
 Alyth (Angus), par. mensal Dunkeld, vic. preb. Dunkeld.
 Ardeonaig (Athole and Drumalbane), free parish.
 Auchtergaven (Athole and Drumalbane), mensal Dunkeld.
 Auchterhouse (Angus), common church Dunkeld.
 Auchtertool (Fife and Strathearn), Inchcolm Abbey.
 Beath (Fife and Strathearn), Inchcolm Abbey, chapel of Dunkeld.
 Bendochy (Angus), Coupar Angus Abbey.
 Blair in Atholl (Athole and Drumalbane), free parish.
 Bunkle (South of Forth), mensal Dunkeld.
 Caputh and Logie-Machad (Angus), par. mensal Dunkeld, vic. preb. Dunkeld.
 Cargill (Angus), mensal Dunkeld.
 Clunie (Angus), preb. dn. Dunkeld.
 Coupar?, incorporated into Bendochy.
 Cramond (South of Forth), mensal Dunkeld.
 Crieff (Fife and Strathearn), preb. Dunkeld.
 Crombie and Torryburn (Fife and Strathearn), Culross Abbey.
 Dalgety (Fife and Strathearn), Inchcolm Abbey.
 Dollar (Fife and Strathearn), Inchcolm Abbey.
 Dowally (Athole and Drumalbane), par. mensal Dunkeld, vic. preb. treas. Dunkeld.
 Dull and Fincastle (Athole and Drumalbane), St. Andrews Priory
 Dunkeld (Athole and Drumalbane), preb. treas. Dunkeld.
 Fern (Angus), preb. Dunkeld.
 Forgandenny (Fife and Strathearn), mensal Dunkeld, vic. preb. Dunkeld.
 Fortingall (Athole and Drumalbane), common church Dunkeld.
 Foss (Athole and Drumalbane), chapel of Dull.
 Glenlyon or Branboth or Killinlynar (Athole and Drumalbane) common church Dunkeld.
 Glenshee? (Athole and Drumalbane), chapel.
 Grandtully (Athole and Drumalbane), pendicle of Dull.
 Inchaiden (Athole and Drumalbane), preb. dn. Dunkeld.
 Killespick-Kyril or Muckairn, mensal Dunkeld.
 Killin (Athole and Drumalbane), Strathfillan Priory.
 Kilmaveonaig (Athole and Drumalbane), free parish
 Kinclaven (Angus), preb. chanter Dunkeld.
 Lagganallochie (Athole and Drumalbane), preb. archd. Dunkeld.
 Lecropt (Fife and Strathearn), Cambuskenneth Abbey.
 Leslie (Fife and Strathearn), Inchcolm Abbey.

Lethendy (Angus), preb. chanc. Dunkeld.
 Little Dunkeld (Athole and Drumalbane), par. mensal Dunkeld.
 Logiebride (Angus), preb. Dunkeld.
 Logierait (Athole and Drumalbane), Scone Abbey.
 Lude (Athole and Drumalbane), free parish.
 Lundeiff or Kinloch (Angus), preb. Dunkeld.
 Madderty (Fife and Strathearn), Inchaffray Abbey.
 Megginch (Angus), Holyrood Abbey.
 Meigle (Angus), common church Dunkeld.
 Menmuir (Angus), preb. Dunkeld.
 Moneydie (Athole and Drumalbane), preb. Dunkeld.
 Moulin (Athole and Drumalbane), Dunfermline Abbey.
 Muckersie (Fife and Strathearn), preb. Dunkeld.
 Obney (Athole and Drumalbane), mensal Dunkeld, vic. preb. subdn. Dunkeld.
 Pitcairn (Fife and Strathearn), mensal Dunkeld.
 Preston (South of Forth), mensal Dunkeld.
 Rannoch (Athole and Drumalbane), free parish.
 Rattray (Angus), preb. subch. Dunkeld.
 Redgorton (Angus), Scone Abbey.
 Rosyth (Fife and Strathearn), Inchcolm Abbey.
 Ruthven (Angus), Arbroath Abbey.
 Saline (Fife and Strathearn), common church Dunkeld.
 Strathardle (Athole and Drumalbane), Dunfermline Abbey.
 Strathfillan (Athole and Drumalbane), Strathfillan Priory.
 Strathmiglo (Fife and Strathearn), mensal Dunkeld.
 Struan (Athole and Drumalbane), free parish.
 Tealing (Angus), preb. archd. Dunkeld.
 Tibbermore (Fife and Strathearn), mensal Dunkeld.
 Weem (Athole and Drumalbane), free parish.

(see Haws, C.H., Scottish Parish Clergy at the Reformation 1540-1574, and Cowan, I.B., The Parishes of Medieval Scotland).

(c) Parish Clergy in the Diocese of Dunkeld, 1560-85

George Adamson	rdr. Aberlady 1567-74
Patrick Adamson	min. Leslie 1566
James Anderson	min. Bendochy 1567-84, min. Cargill 1568-70
Andrew Angus	rdr. Leslie 1562-91
Thomas Auchinleck	rdr. Bendochy 1567-72
Walter Bancanquhal	exh. Auchtertool 1570
John Balfour	rdr. Strathmiglo 1567-72
John Barton	min. Clunie, Blair Atholl, Kilma- veonaig, Lude, Rannoch and Struan 1574-6
Thomas Biggar	min. Auchtertool 1574
John Black	exh. Preston and Bunkle 1574
James Blackwood, sen.	rdr., exh., min. Saline 1567-77
James Blackwood, jun.	rdr., min. Saline 1583-90
Peter Blackwood	min. Aberdour 1567-86, min. Saline 1567-74, min. Auchtertool 1569, min. Dalgety 1569-74
George Boswell	min. Leslie 1574
William Bradfuite	min. Strathmiglo 1567-72
John Brounhill	rdr. Dalgety <1570-74
Thomas Brown	rdr. Saline 1571
John Burdon	rdr., min. Ardeonaig and Killin 1567-93
Robert Burn	rdr. Dollar 1567-90
John Burne	rdr., min. Rosyth 1563-74, min. Dalgety 1572-3, min. Crombie and Torry 1574
David or Donald Cargill	rdr., min. Cargill 1574-1606
Robert Carmyllie	rdr. Ruthven 1576-80
John Carwour	rdr. Lethendy and Rattray 1569-78
Alexander Christieson	rdr. Crieff 1568-86
John Christieson	rdr. Rosyth 1574
Alexander Colt	exh., min. Redgorton 1564-91
William Cornwall	exh., rdr., min. Cramond 1567-74
William Craigie	rdr. Grandtully 1564-9, rdr. Logie- rait 1569-72, rdr. Weem 1574-5
William Crarer	rdr. Moulin 1578
Alexander Crichton	rdr. Logiebride 1564-8, min. Lundeiff 1566-77, rdr. Moneydie 1570-4
George Crichton	rdr. Forgandenny 1569-74
William Crichton	rdr., exh. Auchtergaven 1567-79
Thomas Cruikshank	min. Alyth and Lethendy 1568-72, min. Lundeiff 1567-90, min. Strath- ardle 1574
David Cumming	rdr. Ruthven 1574
Thomas Curror	rdr. Blair Atholl 1574

Laurence Dea	rdr. Aberdalgie 1576-84
Gregor Dougalson	rdr. Moulin 1574-8
John Drummond	rdr. Abernyte 1574
William Drummond	rdr. Cargill 1561-74, rdr. Lundeiff 1569
William Drummond	min. Crieff 1569-89
Alexander Drysdale	rdr. Alva 1567-83
Robert Drysdale	rdr. Bendochy 1563-74
Laurence Duncan	rdr. Alyth 1567-9, rdr. Ruthven 1567
George Dury	rdr. Rosyth 1574
John Dykes	min. Crombie 1574-80
John Edmonstone	min. Dollar 1576
William Edmonstone	min. Lethendy 1571-95, min. Cargill 1571-1601, min. Caputh 1574-95
Andrew Elder	rdr. Menmuir 1568-1586x1607
William Eviot	exh., rdr. Strathardle 1564-74
John Fairful	exh., min. Aberdour 1571-88, exh. Auchtertool 1571
Walter Fairwedder	rdr. Fern 1563
David Ferguson	min. Rosyth 1563-72, min. Beath 1574
Alexander Fergy	min. Lecropt 1574-89
James Fleming	min. Ruthven 1563-70
Alexander Forrester	min. Aberlady 1574
Adam Foulis	min. Tealing 1568
James Foulis	min. Dunkeld 1562
Thomas Frude	rdr. Preston and Bunkle <1574
Alexander Gaw	min. Madderty 1576-1614
Alexander Gib	rdr. Tealing 1567-90
William Gibson	rdr. Aberdalgie 1564-72, rdr. Tibbermore 1574
Thomas Glass	rdr. Rannoch 1567-9, rdr. Moneydie 1568-9
William Glass	min. Little Dunkeld, Dowally and Logierait 1583-1608
Alexander Gray	rdr. Megginch 1567-74
Duncan Gray	rdr. Auchterhouse 1563-1586x9
William Gray	min. Fern 1574-9, min. Menmuir 1574-89
Michael Greg	rdr. Dunkeld 1567-72, rdr. Lagganallochie and Little Dunkeld 1567-90, rdr. Abernyte 1574

George Haitlie
 William Haitlie
 John Haldane
 Alexander Hepburn

rdr., min. Abernyte 1579-97
 min. Abernyte 1567-89x91
 rdr. Meigle 1576
 min. Dowally, Dunkeld, Little
 Dunkeld, Lagganallochie, Logierait
 and Moulin 1574

Archibald Hering

John Hommill
 John Hume
 John Hutchison

rdr. Lundeiff 1574, rdr. Clunie and
 Moulin 1576-91
 min. Strathardle 1562
 exh. Madderty 1564-72
 min. Crombie 1567-85, min. Torry
 1567-9, min. Rosyth 1569

Alexander Ireland
 Thomas Irvine

min. Lagganallochie 1581>
 rdr. Meigle 1574, rdr. Blair
 Atholl 1576

John Kemp
 Andrew Kirk

rdr. Lecropt 1569-78x83
 rdr. Aberdour and Dalgety 1567-86

Patrick Laing
 William Laing
 James Lauder

William Lauder

Robert Lawson
 William Lawson
 Andrew Leitch
 George Leslie
 John Leslie
 John Lindsay
 Walter Lindsay
 George Lundie

rdr. Moneydie 1564-70
 min. Moneydie 1561-7
 exh., rdr., min. Logiebride
 1567-79
 min. Forgandenny and Muckersie
 1567-9x74
 min. Muckersie 1564
 rdr. Crombie and Torry 1574
 min. Fern 1580
 min. Strathmiglo 1562-6
 rdr. Kilmaveonaig 1574
 min. Muckersie 1585-91
 rdr. Ruthven 1569
 min. Abercorn and Cramond 1574-77

Duncan McAuley

min. Dull 1564-74, exh., min. Weem
 1569-74, min. Grandtully and Foss
 1574, min. Fortingall 1574-81, min.
 Inchaiden 1574-1616, min. Blair
 Atholl, Kilmaveonaig, Lude and
 Struan 1593-1608

Duncan McClaggane

rdr., min. Dull and Foss 1561-92,
 rdr. Inchaiden 1567-<1593, rdr.
 Grandtully 1574, rdr. Moulin 1579-
 <1593, min. Weem 1586, min.
 Ardeonaig, Killin and Strathfillan
 1593

John McCorcadill	exh., min. Strathfillan and Killin 1567-84
Thomas McGibbon	min. Auchtergaven, Kinclaven and Redgorton 1567-76, min. Moneydie 1567-95, min. Madderty 1568, min. Logiebride 1567-76, min. Kilma-veonaig <1576, min. Moulin 1595
Dougal or Duncan McGregor	rdr. Fortingall 1564-90, rdr. Weem 1569, rdr. Killin 1574-90
George McIntosh	rdr. Lude 1574-82
John McKay	rdr. Abercorn 1567
Duncan McNair	rdr. Little Dunkeld 1574-6
Duncan McNiven	rdr. Glenlyon 1574
Donald McVicar	min. Strathfillan 1585
John Marshall	min. Ardeonaig, Killin and Strathfillan 1585
John Mason	rdr. Strathmiglo 1563
Alexander Maxwell	rdr. Tealing 1563
Thomas Maxwell	rdr. Ruthven 1579-80
William Melrose	exh. Aberdalgie 1567-72, min. Madderty 1574
James Melville	min. Fern and Menmuir 1563-73
Robert Menteith, sen.	min. Alva 1578-89, min. Dollar 1579-85
Robert Menteith, jun.	rdr. Alva 1574-87, min. 1610
John Moir	rdr. Aberdalgie 1574
Edward Moncrieff	rdr. Tibbermore 1564-72
John Moncrieff	exh. Little Dunkeld 1561
James Moreis	rdr. Lundeiff 1576
John Moreis	rdr. Lethendy 1574-8
Thomas Morrison or Strachan	min. Megginch 1567-74
James Moubray	rdr. Abercorn 1567-79
Alexander Muir	min. Strathmiglo 1574-87
Duncan Murdo	rdr. Meigle 1574
David Murray	rdr. Auchtergaven 1567-71
Patrick Murray	min. Tibbermore 1581
John Neillis	rdr. Clunie 1574
James Nicholson	min. Meigle 1583-1606
John Paterson	min., rdr. Aberdour 1560-80, rdr. Dalgety 1567-72
James Paton	min. Dollar 1567-72
John Paton	rdr. Saline <1574
Robert Pont	min. Dunkeld 1562
William Powrie	min. Abercorn 1583-4

Alexander Ramsay	min. Alyth <1563
David Ramsay or Graham	min. Alyth 1572-90, min. Rattray 1572-90, min. Ruthven 1572-90, min. Meigle 1574-81
George Ramsay	min. Preston 1574-75
James Ramsay	rdr. Fern 1570
William Ramsay	min. Inchaiden 1561-9, min. Weem and Grandtully 1564-9, min. Fortingall 1567-9
William Ramsay	min. Moneydie 1560
John Rattray	rdr. Caputh, Clunie and Rattray 1567-8
Alexander Reidhauch	rdr. Cargill 1584
Alexander Robertson	rdr. Clunie and Strathardle 1576-8
David Robertson	min. Tealing 1563-72
Duncan Robertson	rdr. Struan 1574-8
Finlay Robertson	rdr. Struan 1579-82
Walter Robertson	rdr. Logierait c.1572, rdr. Dunkeld 1574
Andrew Row	exh. Lecropt 1567-72
John Row	min. Muckersie 1569-85, min. Forgandenny 1572-88
Patrick Salmond	exh., rdr. Kinclaven 1567-91, rdr. Caputh 1574-8
James Sanderson	rdr. Alyth 1567-1617, rdr. Ruthven 1572
Robert Scott	rdr., min. Strathmiglo 1574-84
Thomas Scott	min. Strathmiglo <1584
James Sharp	rdr. Fern 1567-70
Thomas Shewan	rdr. Fern 1573
Andrew Simpson	min. Cargill 1564
Patrick Simpson	min. Cramond <1582-90
Robert Simpson or Glook	rdr. Aberdalgie and Tibbermore 1574
William Sinclair	rdr. Preston and Bunkle 1574-80, c.1590
David Spens	min. Lagganallochie <1581
George Spens	rdr. Madderty 1574-86
William Spiers	rdr. Inchaiden 1574
John Spottiswoode	min. Cramond 1580
Alexander Stevin	rdr. Beath 1569-79, rdr. Dalgety 1575-6
Alexander Stewart	rdr. Blair Atholl 1567-74
James Stewart	min. Saline 1584>-1605
Walter Stewart	rdr. Dowally 1574
John Strachan	rdr. Lethendy 1585-1604

Thomas Thallan	rdr. Auchtertool 1563-9
William Thallan or Chillane	rdr. Auchtertool 1574-87
John Thompson alias George Morrison	rdr. Muckersie 1569-76
Walter Tullis	min. Moulin 1578
John Tully	rdr. Bendochy 1578-80
Alexander Tyrie	min. Auchterhouse 1563-1603, min. Meigle 1568-73, min. Tealing 1574-90
John Tyrie	rdr. Dalgety 1569-82
John Wallace	rdr. Fern 1574-90
Peter Watson	min. Leslie 1563-74
Patrick Wemyss	min. Crombie 1574
David White	min. Bendochy 1582
Patrick Williamson	rdr. Rannoch 1574-c.1582
Alexander Young	min. Tibbermore 1567-92, min. Aberdalgie and Pitcairn 1574

Parishes with Reformed Clergy, 1560-76

1560-1-2-3-4-5-6-7-8-9-70-1-2-3-4-5-6

[illegible]

	1560	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6	-7	-8	-9	-70	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6
Madderty						x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x
Megginch										x	x	x	x	x	x		
Meigle										x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Menmuir					x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Moneydie	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Moulin																x	x
Muckersie						x			x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Obney																	
Pitcairn																	x
Preston										x						x	x
Rannoch									x	x	x					x	x
Rattray									x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Redgorton					x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Rosyth					x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		
Ruthven					x	x	x	x	x	x	x			x	x	x	x
Saline					x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Strathardle					x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		
Strathfillan									x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Strathmiglo					x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x			x	x
Struan																x	x
Tealing					x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Tibbermore					x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Torry									x	x	x						x
Weem						x					x	x	x	x	x	x	x

Reformed Church Clergy,1560-76

	1560	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6	-7	-8	-9	-70	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-
Ministers	3	4	7	11	12	10	12	22	22	23	22	22	23	21	36	26	3
Exhorters	-	1	-	-	3	3	3	9	7	7	10	9	7	-	2	-	
Readers	-	1	3	10	13	13	12	33	33	40	37	36	35	32	64	36	4

Parish Clergy in the Diocese of Dunkeld, 1560-85.

ABERCORN:

John McKay: rdr Abercorn 1567 (Scott, Fasti, i, 189).

James Moubray: stud. St. Andrews 1539 (St. A. Recs., 244); rdr. Abercorn 1567-79, vic. 1575 (Reg. Min., 6; Wod. Misc., 367; RSS, vii, no. 613); rdr. Kirknewton 1571-2 (TB, 277; Reg. Min., 7).

George Lundie: min. Abercorn 1574-77 (see Cramond).

William Powrie: of family of Fotheringham (Scott, Fasti, i, 189); stud. St. Andrews 1570-3 (St. A. Recs., 309-11; TB, 297; AFA, ii, 441); vic. Erroll 1573, rdr. 1578 (Scott, Fasti, i, 189); min. Abercorn 1583-4 (ibid, viii, 36); schoolmaster Linlithgow 1584, d. 1631 (ibid, i, 189).

ABERDALGIE:

William Gibson: poss. fr. St. Andrews, Montrose, Dundee or brother Tullileum (TB, 98, 153, 228; RSS, vii, no. 1344; ESL, 104); poss. cp. Edinburgh 1530 (PB Foular, no. 93); cl. St. Andrews 1540 (St. A. Rent., 191) cp. St. Fillans, resig. 1549 (Cal. Chrs, iii, fo. 317); rdr. Aberdalgie 1564-72 (TB, 253; Reg. Min., 30; RSS, vi, no. 119; Scott, Fasti, viii, 360) rdr. Tibbermore 1574 (Wod. Misc., 357).

William Melrose: exh. Aberdalgie 1567-72 (see Madderty).

John Moir: poss. cp. St. Nicholas, Perth 1530 (Fittis, Perth, 295; Rent Bk. KJV1 Hosp., 455); cp. Inchaffray 1559 (RMS, v, no. 869); vic. Monzievaird 1565 (Inchaffray Chrs., 168); rdr. Aberdalgie 1574 (Fittis, Perth, 209; Wod. Misc., 357).

Robert Simpson or Glook: brother Tullileum; rdr. Aberdalgie and Tibbermore 1574 (Scott, Fasti, viii, 360; iv, 193); rdr. Dupplin 1574, par. 1604-13 (Perth Sas., iii, fo. 264; Scott, Fasti, viii, 360; iv, 193; Reg. Deeds, ccxxi, fo. 193).

Alexander Young: min. Aberdalgie 1574 (see Tibbermore).

Laurence Dea: rdr. Aberdalgie 1576-84 (Scott, Fasti, iv, 195).

ABERDOUR:

John Paterson: officer Aberdour, min. 1560, rdr. 1567-80, vic. 1574 (St.AKSR, i, 54, 55-6; Reg. Min., 25; Wod. Misc., 363; RSS, vi, no. 2822; Scott, Fasti, v, 1); exh. Collesie 1564 (TB, 244); rdr. Dalgety 1567-72 (Reg. Min., 25; TB, 245).

Peter Blackwood: can. Holyrood 1558-9 (Laing Chrs. no. 693; PB Thounis, no.8); 'a man of good conversation and literature', to be admitted to the ministry 1566 (BUK, i, 78); min. Aberdour 1567-71, vic. 1571, dem. 1574, min. 1574, not. 1583, min. 1586 (Reg. Min. 25-26; TB, 242; RSS, vi, nos. 1289, 2822; Wod. Misc., 363; RSS, xl, fo.6; Scott, Fasti, viii, 405; NLS MS Chrs., no. 6895; RMS, v, no. 1969); min. Saline 1567-74, par. 1568 (Reg. Min., 25-6; TB, 242; RSS, vi, no. 337; Wod. Misc., 363; Dunf. Burgh Sas., i, fo. 116); min. Auchtertool and Inverkeithing 1569 (Reg. Min., 26; Scott, Fasti, v, 42); min. Dalgety 1569-74 (Wod. Misc., 363); min. Carnock 1571 (Scott, Fasti, v, 7); member GA 1571 (BUK, i, 204); commiss. West Fife 1581 (ibid, ii, 532); 1571-2 added to Dunkeld chapter for election of new bishop (NLS Adv. MSS fo. 17.1.3. fo. 369); d.<May 1587.

Andrew Kirk: poss. rdr. Aberdour 1567-86 (see Dalgety).

John Fairful: stud. St. Andrews 1566-70 (St.A.Recs., 163, 165, 273; AFA ii, 429, 434); exh. Aberdour 1571, min. 1587-8 (Scott, Fasti, v, 2); exh. Auchtertool 1571 (Reg. Min., 28); schoolmaster Dunfermline 1582-4 (Scott, Fasti, v, 183); vic. Beath and Dalgety <1594 (ibid.); GA commiss. Fife and Dunfermline 1590 (BUK, iii, 764 seq.); pension from thirds of Inchaffray 1596; min. Dunfermline 1598-1605 (BUK, iii, 1020); proposed royal chaplain 1601, not accepted (Row, History 208); master Culross Grammar School 1603; before the privy council 1609, praying for the banished mins. at the Aberdeen Assembly, confined to Dundee, then West Anstruther, min. 1610 (Scott, Fasti, v, 27); d.Jan.-Feb. 1626, aged 80.(ibid., v, 183).

ABERLADY:

George Adamson or Addesoun: rdr. Aberlady 1567-74 (Reg. Min., 10; Wod. Misc., 370; Scott, Fasti, viii, 85).

Alexander Forrester: perhaps of family of Corstorphine (Scott, Fasti, i, 2; Cal. Deeds, vi, fo. 405); can. Holyrood 1558-9 (Laing Chrs., no.693; PB Thounis no. 8); min. Liberton 1562 (BUK, i, 13); min. Seton and Tranent 1568-74 (Reg. Min., 10; Wod. Misc., 370); min. Aberlady 1574 (Wod. Misc., 370); min. Pentland 1588-9, dem. <d.Aug.1597 (Scott, Fasti, i, 346, 395).

ABERNYTE:

George Haitlie: rdr. Abernyte, 1/4 par. and vic. 1577-93 (BUK, ii, 719; Scott, Fasti, v, 307); min. Kinnaird, trans. to Abernyte 1593-7; min. Rossie 1599-1623 (Scott, Fasti, (1864), ii, pt.2, 701; Perth Sas., ii, fo. 166).

William Haitlie: cp., not. Perth 1545 (RMS, iii, no. 3201); cp. Moncur 1549 (RMS, iv, nos. 408, 411); not. Inchmartin 1550 (RMS, iv, no. 472); not. Lindores 1562 (ibid, iv, no.1832); not. Petmedill 1566 (ibid, iv, no. 1945) not. Kinnaird 1567 (ibid, iv, no.2139); min. Abernyte 1567-91 (Reg. Deeds, xv, fo. 189; TB, 250; Wod. Misc., 353; Scott, Fasti, v, 307); 1/4 fruits Abernyte 1567-77 (PB Gray, fo. 83; Scott, Fasti, iv, 196; RSS, vii, no. 1249); min. Logie-Dundee, Invergowrie, Liff and Lundie 1574 (Wod. Misc., 353); min. Benvie and Lundie 1576-90 (Scott, Fasti, v, 350; ibid, (1864), iii, pt. 2, 701); d. vic. pen. Abernyte Jan. 1589 (RSS, lviii, fo. 174).

Michael Greg: rdr. Abernyte 1574 (see Dunkeld).

John Drummond: poss. cp. 1523-5 (RMS, iii, nos. 234, 339); poss. prov. Innerpeffray 1549 (ADCP, 581); rdr. Abernyte 1574, 1/4 fruits (RSS, vi, no. 2188); with Michael Greg tried for 'allegance touching the smelling of papistry' (BUK, i, 283).

ALVA:

Robert Menteith, sen.: not. 1550-8 (RMS, iv, no.1290); min. Alva 1566-87/8 (TB, 251; Reg. Min., 27; Dunblane Visit., 15, 91; Stirling Presb. Recs., 308); min. Tillicoultry and Kilbride 1566-89 (TB, 251; Reg. Min., 27; Dunblane Visit. 17; Assig. 1580 fo. 34v; 1589 fo. 32; RSS, lviii, fo. 30); min. Dunblane 1572-85 (Reg. Min., 29; TB, 251; Wod. Misc., 360; Assig. 1576 fo. 37); rdr. Dollar 1578, min. <1585-89 (Scott, Fasti, iv, 295; Assig. passim 1580 fo. 34v; 1589 fo. 32; RSS, lviii, fo. 30); min. Tullibody 1579-80 (Scott, Fasti, (1864), ii, pt.2, 700; Assig. 1580, fo. 34v); member GA 1573 (BUK, i, 288); found to be of good report by visitation 1586 (Dunblane Visit., 15, 17); found to be unqualified 1589 (Scott, Fasti, iv, 295; SFDC (1963), 64).

Alexander Drysdale: can. Inchmahome 1555 (Hutton Coll., vii, fo. 113) vic. Leny 1555-80 (ibid, vii, fo. 113; TB, 269; SRO Buchanan of Leny Writs GD 161 box 4 bdle. 4; RFC, i, fo. 129; SRO Cardross Writs GD 255/69/5 and 9,136); poss. stud. St. Andrews 1557-8 (St.A.Recs., 156; AFA ii, 413); rdr. Alva 1567-83 (Reg. Min., fo. 28v; Wod. Misc., 360; Stirling Presb. Recs., 118); exh., rdr. Tillicoultry 1567-74 (TB, 244; Scott, Fasti, iv, 361); 1581 servant of David Erskine, commendator of Inchmahome (RMS, v, no. 752).

Robert Menteith, younger: rdr. Alva 1574-87 (Wod. Misc., 360; Dunblane Visit., 15; Stirling Presb. Recs., 256), poss. min. 1610 (Calderwood, History, viii, 72).

ALYTH:

Alexander Ramsay: b. c.1480; cp., not. 1502-63 (Bamff Chrs., 55, 72, 78) min. Alyth at Ref., evidence of reformed service was his last notice read out in church during 'prayers or preaching' (Bamff Chrs., 78).

Laurence Duncan: rdr. Alyth 1567-9 (Reg. Min., 19; TB, 252); rdr. Ruthven 1567 (Reg. Min., 19).

James Sanderson: 1/4 Abernyte at Ref., portioner 1577-80 (Assump., 296; Stewarts of Forthergill 106; RMS, iv, no. 1076); rdr. Alyth 1567-1617 (Reg. Min., 19; Wod. Misc., 354; Scott, Fasti, viii, 471); rdr. Ruthven 1572 (Reg. Min., 19).

Thomas Cruikshank: min. Alyth 1568-72 (see Lundeiff).

David Ramsay or Graham: servitor to the bishop of Dunkeld 1548 (RSS, iv, no. 4); servitor to the archbishop of St. Andrews 1550 (ibid., iv, no. 819); cp. Erroll 1566 (RMS, v, no. 892); not. 1571 (RMS, iv, no. 2000); min. Alyth 1572-90, min. Rattray 1572-7 (TB, 251; Wod. Misc., 354; Clan Campbell, viii, 677); min. Ruthven 1572-90, vic. 1582 (Reg. Min., 19; Wod. Misc., 354; Acts and Decs., lv, fo. 248; RSS, viii, no. 1264; Scott, Fasti, v, 274); min. Meigle 1574-81 (Reg. Min., 19; Wod. Misc., 354; Bamff Chrs., 94); min. Glenisla 1574-90 (Wod. Misc., 354); d. Jun. 1602 (RSS, liv, fo. 275).

ARDEONAIG:

John Burdon: rdr., min. Ardeonaig 1567-93 (see Killin).

vacant 1574 (Wod. Misc., 356).

John Marshall: min. Ardeonaig 1585 (see Killin).

AUCHTERGAVEN:

Thomas McGibbon: min. Auchtergaven 1567-74 (see Moneydie).

David Murray: rdr. Auchtergaven 1567-71 (Scott, Fasti, viii, 346)

William Crichton: rdr. Auchtergaven 1567, exh. 1570, rdr. 1571-79 (Reg. Min., 28; TB, 253; Wod. Misc., 357; Scott, Fasti, iv, 140).

AUCHTERHOUSE:

Alexander Tyrie: son of Alexander Tyrie of Nevay; min. Auchterhouse 1563, par. and vic. 1564, min. 1574-82, res. 1608 (TB, 232; Reg. Min., 15; Wod. Misc., 352; RSS, lxvi, fo. 166; Scott, Fasti, v, 309); rdr. Nevay 1563 (TB, 234); min. Meigle 1568, exh. 1569, par. and vic. 1573, min. 1573 (TB, 251; RSS, vi, no. 1908); added to Dunkeld chapter for election of new bishop 1571-2 (NLS Adv. MSS 17.1.3 fo. 369 min. Tealing, Strathmartin and Mains 1574-90 (Wod. Misc., 352; Scott, Fasti, v, 309); d. <1603? (SRO Maitland Thomson GD212 no.23 Moray Writs Box 37.15)

Duncan Gray: preb. Foulis Easter 1538 (PB Thomas Ireland fo.21); vic. pen. Auchterhouse at Ref., rdr.1563-74.d. vic. pen. <Nov. 1586 (Assump., 314v; TB, 233; Reg. Min.,17; Wod. Misc., 352; Reg. Pres. ii, fo. 158v; Edin. Test., i, 32; RMS, v, no. 1170; RSS, vii, no. 1678); not. 1566-7 (RSS, v, no. 3353; Acts and Decs., xlvii, fo. 69).

AUCHTERTOOL:

Thomas Thallan: rdr. Auchtertool 1563-9 (TB, 245)

Peter Blackwood: min. Auchtertool 1569 (see Aberdour).

Walter Balcanquhal: b. Balcanquhal, nr. Strathmiglo c1548; stud. St. Andrews 1566-70 (AFA, ii, 429, 434; St.A.Recs., 163, 165, 273); exh. Auchtertool 1570 (Reg. Min., 25); min. Barra, Bothans 1571-2 (TB, 275 Reg. Min., 10); rdr. Haddington 1573 (Scott, Fasti, viii, 94); min. St. Giles 1574-96 (Wod. Misc., 368; Scott, Fasti, i, 52); min. Trinity 1598 (Scott, ibid); GA commiss. and member 1575-1602 (BUK, i, 337; ii, 995); d. 1617.

John Fairful: exh. Auchtertool 1571 (see Aberdour).

Thomas Biggar: b. 1540 (Scott, Fasti, v, 93); can.St.Andrews <Ref. 1571 (GRH Chrs., no. 2015; BUK, i, 222); stud.St. Andrews 1563-4 (AFA,ii, 423; St.A.Recs., 158); min. Kinghorn Easter 1564-70, vic. 1570,min. 1570-92 (TB, 242; Reg. Min. 25; RSS, vi, no. 870; BUK, i, 222; Wod. Misc 362; Acts and Decs., lv, fo. 109; Melville, Diary, 302); min.Auchtertool and Kinghorn Wester 1574 (Wod. Misc., 362); GA commiss. 1575-8 (BUK, i, 337; ii, 406); d. 1605.

William Thalland or Chillane: rdr. Auchtertool 1574-87, dep. for abuse of sacrament of marriage, became factor for Kirkcaldy of Grange (Wod. Misc., 362; BUK, ii, 695).

BEATH:

Alexander Stevin: mk. Dunfermline 1550-86 (Laing Chrs. no 633; Yester Writs, no. 863); cur. Fowlis Easter 1552 (PB Thomas Ireland, fo. 21); rdr. Beath 1569-79, vic. 1575 (Wod. Misc., 363; RSS, vii, no. 173; Reg. Min., 79; Scott Fasti, v, 21; SRO E 47/2 1579 fo. 37, 1580 fo. 39; Acts and Dec., lxvi, fo. 396); vic., poss. rdr. Dalgety 1575-6 (RSS, vii, no. 173; Reg. Min., 79); 1579 deposed by privy council for subscribing letters as 'ane of the convent' of Dunfermline, acquitted but in 1580 before the Exercise of Edinburgh accused of usurping the ministry (BUK, ii, 465); 1582 again before privy council for failing to witness deed as 'ane of the convent' (RMS, v, no. 392; SRO E 14/2 fo. 182; RPC, iii, 399, 642); 1586 still subscribing charters as a member of the chapter (SRO Burnett Stuart GD 115/1/10); motives for persecution unclear.

David Ferguson: min. Beath 1574 (see Rosyth).

BENDOCHEY:

Robert Drysdale: mk. Coupar Angus 1558 (CA Chrs., ii, 222); rdr. Bendochy 1563-74 (TB, 253; Wod. Misc., 355; Scott, Fasti, viii, 472).

James Anderson: b.1535, of family of Westerton; mk. Coupar Angus 1558-1584 (CA Chrs., ii, 222, 243); min. Bendochy 1567-84 (Reg. Min., 19; Wod. Misc., 355; TB, 250; Scott, Fasti, v, 252); min. Cargill 1568-70 (TB, 250); min. Collace 1568-82, par. 1573 (TB, 250; RSS, vi, no. 2084; Wod. Misc., 355); while at Collace published anti-papist poem, 'The Winter Night', dedicated to Erskine of Dun (RSCHS, xviii, 208) min. Kettins 1569-74 (Reg. Min., 19; Wod. Misc., 355) 1580 candidate for ministry of Perth (BUK, ii, 468); min. Stirling 1582 (Scott, Fasti, v, 252); GA commiss. Angus, Mearns, Stormont, Gowrie, Dunkeld, Stirling, Dunblane and Meigle 1572-92 (BUK, i, 204; iii, 975); Calderwood, History, iii, 523, 734; d. Jan. 1603 (Edin. Test. cc 8.8.42 fo. 28v).

Thomas Auchinleck: poss. b.1550-1, son of James Auchinleck of Perth (PB Auchinleck, 1/36); rdr. Bendochy 1567-8 (Reg. Min., 19; TB, 252); poss. notary Perth, Angus, Dundee, Montrose and Bamff 1576-8 (PB Auchinleck, 1/36; Bamff Chrs., 111-3).

John Tully: rdr. Bendochy 1578-80

David White: min. Bendochy 1582 (Scott, Fasti, viii, 472).

BLAIR ATHOLL:

Alexander Stewart: son of James Stewart of Fincastle (RSS, v, no. 2456; SRO Robertson of Lude Mun. GD 132 no. 23); preb. Inchmagranoch 1565-81 (RSS, v, no. 2456; SRO Robertson of Lude Mun. GD 132 no. 23); rdr. Blair Atholl 1567-74 (Scott, Fasti, iv, 143; Wod. Misc., 356).

John Barton: min. Blair Atholl 1576 (see Clunie).

Thomas Curror: stud. St. Andrews 1541, 'dominus', vic. Ballchreteryne in Angus (St. A. Recs., 246); rdr. Blair Atholl 1574 (Wod. Misc., 356).

Thomas Irvine: rdr. Blair Atholl 1576 (see Meigle).

CAPUTH:

John Rattray: vic. Longforgan at Ref. (Assump., 299); rdr. Caputh, Clunie and Rattray 1567-8 (Reg. Min., 19; TB, 254).

William Edmonstone: min. Caputh 1574-95 (see Cargill).

Patrick Salmond: rdr. Caputh 1574-6 (see Kinclaven).

CARGILL:

William Drummond: son of John Drummond of Auchinglen (SRO Drummond Castle Papers GD 160 box 2 bdle 7) and brother of Andrew Drummond of Bellyclone (Cal. Deeds, vii, fo. 98); dn. Dunblane 1522-33 (Watt, Fasti, 82); cp. 1530-5 (SRO Drummond Castle Papers GD 160 box 2 bdle 4; RMS, iii nos. 1295, 1486); can. Alloway, Chapel Royal, Stirling 1535 (RSS, ii, no. 1891, vi, no. 1242); cp., servant David, Lord Drummond 1541-2 (SRO Drummond Castle Papers GD 160 box 2 bdle 4; RMS, iii, no. 2531; RSS, ii, no. 4384); 1545-6 dispute with Drummond over lands of Auchinglen and Kynbrohke, cont. 1556, court found in favour of Lord Drummond, awarded William pension of £20; rdr. and vic. Cargill 1561-74 (Assump., 304; TB, 92, 150, 250, 253-4; Reg. Min., 19; Wod. Misc., 354); rdr. Lundeiff 1569 (TB, 253); d. 1584 (RSS, vii, no. 1969; Reg. Pres., ii, fo. 100).

Andrew Simpson: pre-Ref. schoolmaster Perth (Row, History, 8); stud. St. Andrews 1540 (St. A. Recs., 244); 1558 in service of bishop Robert Crichton (Dunk. Rent., 353); min. Cargill and Dunning 1564 (BUK, i, 49); min. Dunbar 1564-82 (BUK, i, 49, 201; Row, History, 8; Reg. Min., 9; TB, 276; Wod. Misc., 372; Scott, Fasti, iv, 268); GA commiss.

1571-82 (BUK, i, 204, ii, 574); d, Sept. 1582, at time of dem. from Dunbar (Reg. Pres., ii, fo. 78v; RSS, lxi, fo. 150v).

James Anderson: min. Cargill 1568-70 (see Bendochy).

William Edmonstone: son of James Edmonstone, rec. Fawla, legit. 1548-9 (RSS, xxii, fo. 67); stud. St. Andrews 1564-8 (St.A.Recs., 160, 162, 271; AFA, ii, 426-8); min. Kinfauns 1568-72 (TB, 251; Reg. Min., 19); min. Cargill 1571-4 (Reg. Min., 19; Wod. Misc., 354), vic. 1584 (Reg. Pres ii, fo. 100), min. 1595-1601 (Assig. passim 1595 fo. 23v; Scott, Fasti, iv, 147); min. St. Madoes 1571-2 (Scott, Fasti, viii, 372); preb. Lethendy 1571, min. 1571-95 (RSS, vi. no. 1150; Reg. Min. 19; TB, 251; Wod. Misc., 354; Assig. passim 1595 fo. 23v); min. Caputh 1574-95 (Wod. Misc., 354; Reg. Min., 77; Stirling Presb. Recs., 60; Assig. passim 1595 fo. 23v); chanc. Dunkeld 1571-96 (Watt, Fasti, 112); GA commiss. Perth and Dunkeld (BUK, i, 204, ii, 796); d. Nov. 1605 (Reg. Pres., iii, fo. 113v, 114).

Alexander Reidhauch: rdr. and vic. Cargill 1584 (RSS, viii, no. 1969; Reg. Pres., ii, fo. 100); fiar Cultybraggan 1586 (Taymouth Bk., 239).

CLUNIE:

John Rattray: rdr. Clunie 1567-8 (see Caputh).

John Barton: preb. Clunie 1566, min. 1574 (RSS, v, no. 3152; Wod. Misc., 356); min. Blair Atholl, Kilmaveonaig, Lude, Rannoch and Struan 1574 (Wod. Misc., 356); accused of non-residence 1575 (BUK, i, 336); dn. Dunkeld 1566-86x9, d.<Jan.1589 (Watt, Fasti, 105). (see cathedral clergy, deans).

John Neillis: poss. can. Inchaffray 1521-44 (Dupplin Chrs., no. 34 Inchaffray Chrs., xcvi); servant Archibald Hering 1559-66 (RSS, v, no. 2652); rdr. Clunie 1574 (Wod. Misc., 356).

Archibald Hering: rdr. Lundieff 1574 (Wod. Misc., 354); min. and vic. Clunie, min. Moulin and Kirkmichael 1576-91 (Reg. Min., 77; RSS, vii, no. 759; Scott, Fasti, iv, 163); GA commiss. Strathearn 1576 (BUK, i, 355).

Alexander Robertson: rdr. Clunie and Strathardle 1576-8 (Reg. Min., 77); poss. not. Perth 1582-96 (RMS, v, nos. 412, 1156, 1357; Morris, Provosts of Methven, 72-96).

CRAMOND:

William Cornwall: cp. Linlithgow 1537-52 (PB Johnson no. 151 seq; PB Foulis no. 165); cp. St. Katherine, Linlithgow 1538-61 (PB Johnson, no. 161; PB Thounis, no. 39); rdr. Linlithgow 1561 (PB Thounis, no. 10); exh. Cramond 1567-72, pres.to glebe 1573, rdr. 1574 (TB, 276; Wod. Misc., 367; Reg. Min., 7); added to Dunkeld chapter for election of new bishop 1571-2, desig. as min. (NLS Adv. MSS 17.1.3. fo. 369).

George Lundie: stud. St.Andrews 1541-3 (St.A.Recs., 147, 247; AFA, ii, 398); rdr. Regents House 1568 (Reg. Min., 1); min. Largo 1569-72 (TB, 243; Reg. Min., 23; Acts and Decs., xlv, fo. 270); rdr. Newburn <1570 (Scott, Fasti, v, 223); min. Dalmeny 1574-92 (Wod. Misc., 367; Scott, Fasti, i, 10, 200; Invent. Pitferrane Writs nos. 263, 330), vic. 1580 (RSS, vii, no.2312); min. Cramond 1574-77 (Wod. Misc., 367; Calderwood History, iii, 47); min. Abercorn and Auldcathy 1574-77 (Wod. Misc., 367; Scott, Fasti, i, 10); min. Pentland 1587, while residing in Dalmeny (Scott, Fasti, i, 200); GA commiss. Linlithgow 1586 (BUK, ii, 648); d. Jul.1592 (Scott, Fasti, i, 346; Invent. Pitferrane Writs, no 332, 335, 338)

John Spottiswoode: stud. St.Andrews 1571-5 (St.A.Recs., 171, 173, 280 AFA, ii, 442, 444); min. Lesmahagow <1580; min. Cramond 1580; min. Mordington 1581 (Scott, Fasti, v, 10); min. Linlithgow 1592 (Melville, Diary, 302); GA commiss. 1586-1602 (BUK, ii, 648, iii, 996); mod. GA 1610, 1616-8 (Scott, Fasti, i, 176).

Patrick Simpson: b. 1556, son of Andrew Simpson, min.of Cargill; stud. St.A. 1570-4 (St.A.Recs., 170, 173, 280; AFA, ii, 442, 444); also studied at Cambridge Univ. and under the auspices of a gentleman in Bridgestock (Tweedie, Select Biog. 71); min. Spott, Auldham and the Bars (Tweedie, ibid., 72); min. Cramond <1582-90, vic. 1588 (RSS, lv, fo. 61; Tweedie, ibid., 73; BUK, ii, 765); min. Stirling 1590-1617 (Tweedie, ibid., 73; Melville, Diary, 302, 549); Scott, Fasti, i, 20; BUK, ii, 782, 849); memb. 12 assemblies <1610 (BUK, ii, 667; iii, 1099); d.Mar. 1618.

CRIEFF:

Alexander Christieson: cp. Storgeith 1544 (Dunb. Test., i, fo. 56); cp. and not. 1553 (SRO Drummond Castle Papers, GD 160 Milnab Writs bdle 1 no. 15); vic. Crieff, conformed and served, vic. pen. 1568, rdr. 1568-86 (Scott, Fasti, iv, 265, 281; TB, 252; RSS, vi, no. 367; Wod. Misc., 359; SRO E47/3 fo. 27v; Reg. Pres., i, fo. 13v; Assig. passim 1586 fo. 27v); rdr. Monzievaird 1567-8 (Reg. Min., 28; TB, 252); rdr. Storgeith 1569-72 (TB, 252); d. c1588 (RSS, lvii, fo. 49v).

William Drummond: stud. St.Andrews (St.A.Recs., 326); exh. Crieff 1564-8, min. 1569-89, preb. 1574-84 (TB, 250, 252; Stirling Presb. Recs. 31 seq.; Fraser, Grandtully, 105; Porteous, Crieff, 107; Scott, Fasti, (1864), ii, pt.2, 750); min. Comrie 1569-89 (TB, 250; Wod. Misc., 359; Scott, Fasti, ibid., 750); exh. Stodgeith 1567, min. 1569-89 (Reg. Min., 28, 81; TB, 250; Scott, Fasti, ibid., 750); min. Tullichdil 1569-89 (TB, 250; Wod. Misc., 359; RSS, lxiv, fo. 45); min. Moonzie and Monzievaird 1574-89 (Wod. Misc., 359; Scott, Fasti, ibid., 750); added to Dunkeld chapter for election of new bishop (NLS Adv. MSS 17.1.3. fo. 369); d. 1592 (RSS, lxiv, fo. 45).

CROMBIE:

John Hutchison: mk. Culross, conformed and served as min. Crombie 1567-85 (Cowan, Parishes, 40; Reg. Min., 26; TB, 251; Reg. Pres., ii, fo. 130); min. Torry 1567-9 (Reg. Min., 26); min. Inverkeithing and Rosyth 1569 (Inverkeithing and Rosyth, 272; Scott, Fasti, v, 42, 52); 1585 (Reg. Pres., ii, fo. 130)

office of rdr. vacant 1574 (Wod. Misc., 359).

William Lawson: rdr. Crombie 1574 (Wod. Misc., 362)

Patrick Wemyss: min. Crombie 1574 (Wod. Misc., 359); min. Culross and Tulliallan 1591 (Assig. 1591 fo. 27)

John Burne: oversight Crombie 1574 (see Rosyth).

John Dykes: min. Culross 1567-91 (Reg. Min., 56; TB, 242; Wod. Misc., 359; RSS, viii, no. 715; Stirling Presb. Recs., 39; Assig. passim 1580 fo. 34v, 1591 fo. 27); min. Tulliallan 1567-89 (Reg. Min., 26; Wod. Misc., 359; Assig. passim 1580 fo. 34v, 1589 fo. 36); min. Crombie 1574-80 (Wod. Misc., 359; Assig. passim 1580 fo. 34v); GA commiss. 1571-91 (BUK, i, 198, ii, 757; RPC, iv, 466).

DALGETY:

John Paterson: rdr. Dalgety 1567-72 (see Aberdour).

Andrew Kirk: poss. rdr. Dalgety, Aberdour and Muckart 1567-86, vic. 1587; min. Fossoway 1588; min. Glendevon 1591-2 (Aberdour and Inchcolme, 216-7; Scott, Fasti, v, 2; Wod. Misc., 359; Reg. Min., 26; Stirling Presb. Recs., 187-8; Reg. Pres., ii, fo. 172); tried by Dunblane Visitation and Stirling Presb. 1586-7 (Dunblane Visit., 25, 305; Stirling Presb. Recs., 293) licensed to teach in churches at Muckart and Dollar (Stirling Presb. Recs., 309).

Peter Blackwood: min. Dalgety 1569-74 (see Aberdour).

John Tyrie: son of John Tyrie of Bridgend, Aberdour, chamberlain of Inchcolm (Aberdour and Inchcolm, 214); rdr. Dalgety 1569-82 (SRO Henderson of Fardell Mun. GD 172 fos. 1380, 1390; Wod. Misc., Wod. Misc., 363; Aberdour and Inchcolm, 214).

John Brounhill: 'dene', can. of Inchcolm 1541-77 (Inchcolm Chrs., 72-3, 216); rdr. Dalgety <1570-74 (Edin. Tests., ii, 227; Wod. Misc., 363)

John Burne: min. Dalgety 1572-3 (see Rosyth).

Alexander Stevin: poss. rdr. Dalgety 1575-6 (see Beath).

DOLLAR:

Robert Burn: cur. Dollar 1547, vic. pen. at Ref., rdr. 1567-74, vic. 1573, removed 1586, rdr. 1590 (SRO Shairp of Houston Mun. GD 30, no. 1956; Assump. 102; Reg. Min. 26; TB, 252; Wod. Misc., 359; RSS, vi, no. 2240; Scott, Fasti, iv, 308; 8, 389; Dunblane Visit., xxxi, xxxiii, 19-21, 29, 91).

James Paton: of family of Ballilisk; stud. St. Andrews 1540-2 (AFA, ii, 396); min. Muckart 1565-72 (TB, 251; Reg. Min., 26); min. Dollar and Glendevon 1567-72 (Reg. Min., fo. 28v; Dunblane Visit., xxiv, 19); bishop Dunkeld 1571-96 (see chapter two, cathedral clergy).

vacant 1574 (Wod. Misc., 359).

John Edmonstone: rdr. Tullichedil 1572 (Reg. Min., 28); rdr. Perth 1574 (Fittis, Perth, 110); poss. min. Dollar, Fossoway, Glendevon, Muckart 1576 (Scott, Fasti, iv, 305), Dollar however seems to have been vacant until 1585 (Dunblane Visit. 190; min. Tullibol 1578, trans. to Crail (Scott, Fasti, iv, 268) min. St. Giles 1584, trans. Dunning 1586 (Scott, Fasti, i, 33); min. Aberruthven, Kinkell and Auchterarder 1586 (SRO E47/8 (1586) 23v); min. Chapel Royal Stirling 1596 (Scott, Fasti, iv, 332); GA commiss. 1602-7 (BUK, ii, 975); d. <1608 (Scott, Fasti, iv, 268).

Robert Menteith, sen.: rdr. Dollar 1579-85, min. 1585 (see Alva).

DOWALLY:

Alexander Hepburn: min. Dowally 1574 (see Little Dunkeld).

Walter Stewart: pre-Ref. vic. pen. Dowally 1568, vic. 1572, rdr. 1574 (RSS, vi, no. 190; Wod. Misc., 355; RSS, xl, fo. 92); treas. Dunkeld 1582-d.1586 (Reg. Pres. ii, fo. 159v). (see cathedral clergy).

DULL:

Duncan McAuley: min. Dull 1564-74 (see Fortingall).

Duncan McClaggane: poss. stud. Glasgow 1533 (Mun. Glasgow Univ., ii, 175) or St. Andrews 1558 (St. A. Recs., 145, 148, 240); layman or cleric Dull 1561 (RMS, iv, no. 1730); rdr. Dull and pendicles 1574, vic. 1578-1600, rdr. 1583-90, min. 1592 (Wod. Misc., 356; RSS, vi, no. 2065; Scott, Fasti, viii, 355; iv, 170; SRO Menzies Writs GD 1/501 nos 21 and 26); rdr. Grandtully 1574 (Wod. Misc., 356); rdr. Inchaiden 1567-72, again <1593 (Reg. Min., 30; TB, 253; Scott, Fasti, iv, 163; Gillies, Breadalbane, 264); rdr. Moulin 1579-c1593 (Reg. Pres., ii, fo. 38; Scott, Fasti, iv, 170; Gillies, Breadalbane, 264); min. Weem 1586 (Scott, Fasti, iv, 170); min. Kirkmichael 1591-3 (Ibid, 163); min. Ardeonaig, Killin and Strathfillan 1593 (Gillies, Breadalbane, 264); d. 1603 (Scott, Fasti, iv, 170).

DUNKELD:

Robert Pont: b. 1524, at Culross, son of John Pont of Shyresmill; educated Culross abbey school and St. Andrews 1543; elder St. Andrews kirk session 1559; qualified to min. 1560, commiss. St. Andrews 1562 (BUK, i, 4, 13); min. Dunblane 1562, trans. to Dunkeld 1562 (BUK, i, 18, 28); GA commiss. Moray, Inverness, Banff 1563-76 (BUK, i, 34 seq.); prov. Trinity College, Edinburgh 1571-85; sen. 1572-84 (Brunton and Haig, Senators, 151-3; BUK, i, 204, 264); min. second charge St. Cuthberts, Edinburgh, min. first charge 1578; min. St. Andrews 1581, returned St. Cuthberts 1583 (Scott, Fasti, v, 231); moderator GA six times 1570-97; d. 1606. (see DNB, 46, pp. 91-4)

James Foulis: min. Dunkeld 1562 (BUK, i, 29).

Michael Greg: son of Thomas Greg, Dunkeld can.; rdr. Dunkeld 1567-72 (Reg. Min., 29; RSS, vi, no. 1624); rdr. Lagganallochie and Little Dunkeld 1567-90, vic. 1568 (RSS, vi, no. 377; Reg. Min. 29; TB, 253; Scott, Fasti, iv, 158, 160); held 1/4 Abernyte 1572, dep. 1573, rdr. 1574 (RSS, vi, nos. 1624, 2188; Wod. Misc., 353); tried as a papist 1573 (BUK, i, 283); d. <Nov. 1577 (RSS, vii, no. 1249).

Alexander Hepburn: min. Dunkeld 1574 (see Little Dunkeld).

Walter Robertson: of family of Robertson or Downie of Meigle; vic. Aberdour 1556, d.<1571 (North Berwick Carte, 72; Assump., 100; RSS, vii, no. 2578); not. Dunkeld 1558-63 (SRO Robertson of Lude Mun. GD 132 no. 18); cp. Dunkeld 1561, rdr. 1574, vic. 1580, d.<1590 (RMS, v, no. 1138; Wod. Misc., 355; RSS, vii, no. 2578; RSS, lxi, fo. 33); supposedly d. 1571, but prob. indentifiable with Walter Robertson, rdr. Logierait <1572, vic., 1580; tried as a papist 1573 (BUK, i, 287).

FERN:

James Melville: fifth son of John Melville of Dysart, nr. Montrose, uncle of James Melville of Kilrenny and brother of Andrew Melville; stud. St.Andrews 1553-6 (AFA, ii, 406; St.A. Recs., 155, 258, 261); qualified to minister 1560 (BUK, i, 4); min. Fern 1563-9 (TB, 232 Reg. Min., 15); min. Menmuir 1563-73 (TB, 232; Reg. Min., 15; Scott, Fasti (1864), iii, pt.2, 807); min. Tannadice 1563-7 (TB, 232; Scott, Fasti, v, 304); min. Kinnell 1567-74 (Reg. Min., 15; TB, 232; Wod. Misc., 352); par. and vic. Auchterhouse 1568 (RSS, vi, no. 404; Reg. Pres., i, fo. 15); min. St. Vigean 1574-93 (Wod. Misc., 352); min. Ethie 1574 (Wod. Misc. 352); member GA 1566-90 (BUK, i, 204 seq.); added to Dunkeld chapter for election of new bishop 1571-2 (NLS Adv. MSS 17.1.3 fo. 369); d. Aug.1596 (RMS, v, no. 348; RFC, ii, fo. 103; Scott, Fasti, v, 423; Edin.Test. cc88.29 fo. 472r).

Walter Fairwedder: cp. 1524 (RMS, iii, no. 285); priest and not. Dunkeld, curate Menmuir 1527/8-63 (Strathmore Writs NRA 885, vol.2, no.32; Crawford Mss box P bdle v, nos. 4 & 25; REB, ii, 280, 282); rdr. Fern 1563 (TB, 233); d.<Nov. 1585 (Crawford Mss box P bdle ii, no.29)

James Sharp: cp. Brechin 1549-56 (REB, ii, nos. cxxxiii, cxxxiv); rdr. Brechin 1563-70, rdr. Fern 1567-70 (TB, 234; Reg. Min., 16); d. c.1570 (Reg. Min., E48.2. fo. 20v)

James Ramsay: poss. fr. or mk. at Ref. (TB, 97 seq.); rdr. Fern 1570 (Reg. Min., 18).

Thomas Shewan: poss. stud. Louvain 1567 (McRoberts, Scottish Reformation, 324); rdr. Brechin and Fern 1573 (Reg. Min., 16); salary augmented by Lady Lindsay, wife of earl of Crawford (Jervise, Lands of the Lindsays, 221); vic. Farnell 1573, rdr. 1574-89 (RSS, vi, no. 2120; Wod. Misc., 350).

William Gray: pre-Ref. teacher, pupils included James Melville (Melville, Diary, 16); min. Dun 1563 (TB, 232); min. Logie-Montrose 1563-90, vic. 1574 (TB, 232; Reg. Min., 15; RSS, vi, no. 2311; Wod. Misc., 349); min. Pert 1567-90 (Reg. Min., 15; TB, 232; Wod. Misc., 349); min. Fern 1574-9 (Wod. Misc. 349); min. Menmuir 1574-89 (Wod. Misc., 349; Southesk Chrs., box 6 bdle 3); min. Lawrence-Kirk 1585-1601, Conweth

1585-90, Newdosk 1588-9 (Fraser, Laurencekirk, 223; Scott, Fasti, v, 476); d. <Mar.1603.

John Wallace: cur. Finavon 1543 (WRH The Haigh Inventory, ii, 89); rdr. Fern 1574-90 (Wod. Misc., 349; RMS, v, nos. 1208, 1594; Kinnaird Southesk Chrs., box 3 bdle 2; box 6 bdle 3)

Andrew Leitch: vic. Kilmoir 1577 (RSS, vii, no. 1029); min. Fern and Dunlappie 1580 (Scott, Fasti, v, 396), min. Fern 1583-6 (Southesk Chrs. box 2 misc.); preceptor Brechin GS 1580, min. Maryton <1585, later also Inchbrayok, Lunan and St.Kaa, latter two charges dropped 1598 (Scott, Fasti, v, 396, 406); GA commiss. Angus, Brechin, Edinburgh and Mearns 1590-1610 (BUK, ii, 763 seq.); d. Jun.1611 (Scott, Fasti, v, 406).

FORGANDENNY:

William Lauder: b. Lothian c1520; brother of James Lauder of Logiebride (TA, xii, 196); stud. St.Andrews 1537-43/4 (AFA, ii, 398; St.A.Recs., 148, 239, 248); pre-Ref.priest, wrote 'Tractate concerning office and Dewtie of Kyngs, Spiritual Pastoris and Temporal Jugis' 1556 (Scott, Fasti, iv, 209, 211); poss. rdr. Dunning; min. Forgandenny, Forteviot, Kinnoul, Mailor and Muckersie 1567-9 (Reg. Min., 28; TB, 251; Cal. Chrs., no. 2153); min. Perth 1570 (RMS, iv, no. 2030) added to Dunkeld chapter for election of new bishop 1571-2 (NLS Adv. MSS 17.1.3 fo. 369); d.1572 (Scott, Fasti, iv, 209).

George Crichton: poss. fr.Glasgow 1532 and Perth 1535-43 (Glas. Mun., ii, 157; Milne, Glasgow Blackfriars, 62; Perth Blackfriars, xxxv, 226, 227; Fittis, Perth, 189); poss. can. Holyrood 1539 (PB Johnson nos. 199, 200); with Robert Boyd in charge of 'geir of Perth' at Cluny 1559 (Dunk. Rent., 356); rdr. Forteviot 1567-72 (Reg. Min., 28; TB, 253); rdr. Forgandenny 1569-74 (Wod. Misc., 358; Reg. Min., 28; Wilson, Presb. of Perth, 78); poss. advocate and executor of William Crichton of Coldstane (Acts and Decs. xlviii, fo. 41); poss. vic. pen. Caputh 1578-1604 (RMS, v, no. 235; RSS, lxxiv, fo. 336)

John Row: prob. relative of John Row of Perth (Scots Worthies, 110); min. Forteviot 1569-88 (Wod. Misc., 358; Stirling Presb. Recs., 120, 185); min. Muckersie 1569-85 (TB, 251; Wod. Misc., 358; Scott, Fasti, iv, 213); min. Forgandenny 1572-88 (TB, 251; Stirling Presb. Recs. 120 d. Dec.1588.

FORTINGALL:

William Ramsay: min. Fortingall 1567-9 (see Inchaiden).

Duncan or Dougal McGregor: son of James McGregor, dn.of Lismore (RSS, xxix, fo. 46); chanc. Lismore 1558-75 (Taymouth Bk., 128; OPS, ii, 1, 166; History Clan Gregor, 176; SRO McGregor Trans. box 26; RSS, vii no.340); $\frac{1}{2}$ preb. Lismore 1574 (OPS, op.cit.); 'byggyt...ew hous besyd the kyrk of Fortyrgill' (Taymouth Bk, 128); 1564 desig. as 'clerych' (SRO Breadalbane Mun. GD 112/1/3/149); rdr. Fortingall 1567-90 (Reg. Min., 29; TB, 253; Wod. Misc., 356; SRO Breadalbane Mun. GD 112/1/4/295, 298); rdr. Weem 1569 (TB, 253); rdr. Killin 1574-90 (Wod. Misc., 356; RPC, iv, 521); d. c.1590; one man or two?

Duncan McAuley: min. Dull 1564-74 (Reg. Min., 30; TB, 251; Wod. Misc., 356; Scott, Fasti, viii, 254); par. and vic. Fortingall 1568-9, min. 1574-1607 (RSS, vi, no. 527; TB, 250; Wod. Misc., 256; RMS, v, no. 904; Reg. Pres., i, fo. 18); exh. Weem 1569-71, min. 1574 (TB, 252; Wod. Misc. 356); min. Grandtully 1574 (Wod. Misc., 352); min.Foss 1574 (Wod. Misc. 356) min. Inchaiden 1574-91, 1614-16 (Wod. Misc. 356; Calderwood, History, iii, 587, 589; BUK, i, 207; Scott, Fasti, iv, 181; Gillies, Breadalbane, 264-5); min. Blair Atholl, Kilmaveonaig, Struan and Lude 1593-1608 (Scott, Fasti, iv, 144, 178, 181; RMS, v, no. 904; vi, no. 2076; Acts and Decs., xlii, fo. 405; Perth Sas., v, fos. 369, 453); GA commiss. 1576-81 (BUK, ii, 359, 470, 475); close links with Campbells of Glenorchy house guest 1581, 1592 (Taymouth Bk., 226, 311).

FOSS:

Duncan McAuley: min. Foss 1574 (see Fortingall).

Duncan McClaggane: rdr. pendicles of Dull, incl. Foss 1574 (see Dull).

GLENLYON:

Duncan McClaggane: rdr. pendicles of Dull, incl.Glenlyon 1574 (see Dull).

Duncan McNiven: poss. pre-Ref. priest; rdr.Glenlyon 1574, 'clerk McNevin zirdyt in Branwo' [in Glenlyon] (Taymouth Bk., 139; Stewart, A Highland Parish, 209).

GRANDTULLY:

William Ramsay: min. Grandtully 1564-9 (see Inchaiden).

William Craigie: rdr. Grandtully 1564-9 (Reg. Min., 29; TB, 252; Scott, Fasti, viii, 356); rdr., vic.pen. Logierait 1569, 1/3 vic. pen. 1571-2 (RSS, vi, no. 610; TB, 250); rdr. Weem 1574-5 (Wod. Misc., 356; Edin. Univ. Lib. MS DK.7.59; SRO Menzies Writs GD 1/501/nos.12 & 14).

Duncan McAuley: min. Grandtully 1574 (see Fortingall).

Duncan McClaggane: rdr. Grandtully 1574 (see Dull).

INCHAIKEN:

William Ramsay: occ. 1530, inscribed copy of Colonna's 'Historia Troiana' given to earl of Argyll; not. Isle of Loch Tay 1549-60 (Taymouth Bk., 189, 204); priest Dunkeld and rect. Kilmore 1552 (SRO Breadalbane Mun. GD 112/51/2/6/11); cp. to Campbell of Glenorchy at Finlarig 1555 (Gillies, Breadalbane, 261); cur. Killin 1557 (Gillies, ibid., 261); cur. Innishail, another church of Inchaffray (GUA Resig. 1556-9 fo. 181); min. Inchaiden 1561, vic. 1566 (Gillies, op.cit., 262-3; RSS, v, no. 3080; SRO Breadalbane Mun. GD 112/1/114); min., vic. Weem and Grandtully 1564 (TB, 251; Scott, Fasti, viii, 356); min. Fortingall 1567, par. and vic. 1568, d<Feb.1569 (Reg. Min., 29; RSS, vi, nos. 348, 567).

Duncan McClaggane: rdr. Inchaiden 1567-71, ret.<1593 (see Dull).

Duncan McAuley: min. Inchaiden 1574-91, 1614-16 (see Fortingall).

William Spiers: poss. rdr. Inchaiden 1574 (Scott, Fasti, viii, 356), although office of rdr. vacant 1574 (Wod. Misc., 356).

KILLIN:

John Burdon: rdr., min. Killin, Ardeonaig, Balquhidder and Strathfillan 1567-93 (Reg. Min., 30; TB, 252; Wod. Misc., 357; Scott, Fasti, iv, 337); deposed by Perth Presb. 1584, but cont. until 1590 (RSS, li, fo. 137; Assig. 1590 fo. 33v); vic. Balquhidder 1568-9 (RSS, vi, no. 509) cp. Our Lady Altar, Dunblane, deposed 1575 (Assig. 1576 fo. 33 insert) on Dunblane Exercise 1587 (Stirling Presb. Recs., 296, 301).

John McCorcadill: prob. pre-Ref. priest; exh. Killin 1567, par. and vic. 1569, min. 1574-84 (Reg. Min., 30; RSS, vi, no. 578; Wod. Misc., 356; RMS, v, no. 539; SRO Breadalbane Mun. GD 112/1/225); exh. Strathfillan 1567, par. and vic. 1569,

min.1574, prior 1581-2, late prior 1584 (RSS, xlviii, fo. 97v; li, fo. 120v; Reg. Min., 30; RSS, vi, no. 578; Wod. Misc., 356); exh., min. Ardeonaig 1567-80 (Reg. Min. 30; Assig. 1580 fo. 31v); not. 1573-5 (Taymouth Bk., 216; SRO Breadalbane Mun. GD 112/2/18/7/2/155).

Duncan McGregor: rdr. Killin 1574 (see Fortingall).

John Marshall: min. Killin, Ardeonaig and Strathfillan 1585; min. Moulin 1588, dem. min. Logierait 1590 (RSS, lxi, fo. 33); d <Aug 1620.

KILMAVEONAIG:

John Barton: min. Kilmaveonaig 1574 (see Clunie).

John Leslie: b. Dunkeld, cp. All Saints 1524 (Dunk. Rent., 330); preb. Forgandenny at Ref. (Assump.304); rdr. Kilmaveonaig 1574 (Wod. Misc. 356).

Thomas McGibbon: min. Kilmaveonaig <1576 (see Moneydie).

KINCLAVEN:

Patrick or John Salmond: cp. 1554 (PB Glasgow no. 195); exh. Kinclaven 1567-9, vic. pen. 1569, exh.1570-2, rdr. 1574-91 (Reg.Min., 28; TB, 252; RSS, vi, no. 523; Wod. Misc., 357), vic. 1590 (Scott, Fasti, viii, 351); rdr. Caputh 1574-8 (Wod. Misc., 354; Reg. Min., 77).

Thomas McGibbon: min. Kinclaven 1567-76 (see Moneydie).

LAGGANALLOCHIE:

Michael Greg: rdr. Lagganallochie 1567-90 (see Dunkeld), although office of rdr. vacant in 1574 (Wod. Misc., 356).

Alexander Hepburn: min. Lagganallochie 1574 (see Little Dunkeld).

David Spens: min. Lagganallochie <1581 (RSS, lxiv, fo. 55).

Alexander Ireland: min. Lagganallochie >1581 (RSS, lxiv, fo. 55); vic.Kinclaven 1595 (RSS, xlvii, fo. 147; lxviii, fo. 39); min. Kinclaven 1602-5 (Perth Sas., i, fo. 312; iv, fo. 159).

LECROPT:

John Kemp: poss. stud. St.Andrews 1532 (St.A.Recs., 231); pre-Ref. vic. Lecropt, vic. 1562-72, rdr. 1569-78, 'alleged' rdr. Lecropt 1583 (TB, 165, 255; Scott, Fasti, viii, 400; Wod. Misc., 360; Stirling Presb. Recs., 107, 130-2); preb. Aberlady 1567 (Scott, Fasti, viii, 85; Cal. Deeds viii, fo. 158); rdr. Tullibody 1574 (Wod. Misc., 360); servant Queen Dowager and Queen 1575 (Acts and Decs., x, fo. 233; lxiii, fo. 12).

Alexander Fergy: cp. Stirling 1552, 1559 (RSS, iv, no. 1637; RMS, iv, no. 1373); collector of altar annuals Stirling 1555; min. Logie-Atherton 1564-91 (Reg. Min., 27; TB, 251; Wod. Misc., 360; Dunblane Visit. 1313; RSS, lxiii, fos. 218, 224v); min. Clackmannan 1567 (Reg. Min., 27); Tullibody 1569, min. 1571-89 (RSS, vi, no. 1604; TB, 251; Assig. passim 1589 fo. 32); min. Kilmadock 1571-89 (RSS, vi, no. 1383; Wod. Misc. 360; Assig. passim 1589 fo. 32); min. Lecropt and Kincardine 1574-89 (Wod. Misc., 360; Assig. passim 1589 fo. 32); chanc. Dunblane 1576-81 (Watt, Fasti, 85); regular member Stirling Presbytery 1580s (Dunblane Visit. 13 seq.); member GA 1589 (BUK, ii, 757); d. 1591-2 (RSS, lxiii, fos. 218, 224v).

Andrew Row: can. Cambuskenneth 1546-58 (Laing Chrs., nos. 505, 687); vic. Fowlis-Easter 1560-d<Mar. 1575 (SRO Murray of Ochtertyre Mun. GD 54/2/123; RSS, viii, no. 72); exh. Lecropt 1567-72, 1/3 vic. 1569 (Reg. Min. 27; TB, 252); d1575.

LESLIE:

Andrew Angus: can. Inchcolm 1538-78 (Inchcolm Chrs., 70, 72-3); vic. Leslie at Ref., rdr. 1562-91 (Assump. 98v; TB, 151, 242, 245; Reg. Min., 24; Wod. Misc., 368; Scott, Fasti, v, 109); rdr. Kinglassie 1568 (Scott, Fasti, viii, 431); d.<1599.

Patrick Adamson: b1536, son of Adam Constance; educ. Perth GS and St.Andrews Univ. 1557-8 (Vita P. Adamsoni (1620), 45; AFA, ii, 413); poss. min. Leslie 1566 (Scott, Fasti, viii, 431); archb. St. Andrews 1575-92 (Watt, Fasti, 299).

Peter Watson: can. St.Andrews <Ref.-1584 (Scott, Fasti, v, 37; GRH Chrs., no. 2015; BUK, i, 222; Laing Chrs., no. 1082); stud. St. Andrews 1555-8 (St.A.Recs., 156, 161; AFA, ii, 413); min. Ballingry 1560-4 (Scott, Fasti, v, 57); min. Leslie, Markinch and Kirkforthar 1563-74 (TB, 244; BUK, i, 222; Reg. Min., 24); min. Kinglassie 1569-72 (TB, 244); added to Dunkeld chapter for election of new bishop (NLS Adv. MSS 17.1.3. fo. 369); min. Flisk 1580-5 (Cranstoun, i, 217, 333; Scott, Fasti, v, 155); poss. pre-Ref. cur. Dumfries 1545, rdr., min., 1562-85 (PB Carruthers, no. 104; Dumfries Trans. 3rd series, xxvi, iii; Scott, Fasti, v, 112, 155);

Calderwood, History, iii, 351, 386; BUK, ii, 429); min. Terregles and Traqueer 1574 (Wod. Misc., 390); d. Jan. 1585 (Acts and Decs., i, fo. 299).

George Boswell: tenth and youngest son of David Boswell of Balmuto (Douglas, Baron, 310); stud. St. Andrews 1555-8 (AFA, ii, 413; St. A. Recs., 156, 261); par. Auchterderran 1561, rdr., min. 1567-74, par. 1592 (TB, 151, 241, 245; Reg. Min., 25; Wod. Misc., 363; RMS, v, nos. 1060, 1203; Scott, Fasti, v, 76); min. Leslie and Kinglassie 1574 (Wod. Misc., 363); d. Jan. 1596.

LETHENDY:

Thomas Cruikshank: min. Lethendy 1568-72 (see Lundeiff).

John Carwour: rdr. Lethendy 1569-78 (see Rattray).

William Edmonstone: min. Lethendy 1571-95 (see Cargill).

John Moreis: rdr. Lethendy 1574-80 (Wod. Misc., 354).

John Strachan: rdr. Lethendy 1585-1604 (Scott. Fasti, iv, 165; RSS, lxxvi, fo. 188); min. Cambusmichael 1610 (Bamff Chrs., 164).

LITTLE DUNKELD:

John Moncrieff: vic. and exh. Little Dunkeld 1549-61 (see cathedral clergy, treasurers).

Michael Greg: rdr. Little Dunkeld 1567 (see Dunkeld)

Alexander Hepburn: par. Ryne, lost dispute conc. vic. Inverness (ADC, 38 fo. 102, 40 fo. 159, 41 fo. 4, 43 fo. 185); stud. St. Andrews Univ., rec Ryne and can. Moray 1533-4 (AFA, ii, 373, 376; St. A. Recs., 128, 132, 252); rec. Moneydie 1540 (Reg. Supp. 2846 fo. 73v-74r); scholar Dunkeld 1550 (Reg. Supp. 2705 fo. 40r-v); schoolmaster Elgin, Dundee and Dunkeld (Roll Eminent Burgesses Dundee, 40; McRoberts, Scottish Reformation, 156; PB Johnson, no. 957); min. Little Dunkeld, Dunkeld, Dowally, Logierait, Lagganallochie and Moulin 1574 (Wod. Misc., 355) bishop of Ross 1574, election unpopular (Watt, Fasti, 270; BUK, i, 326); GA commiss. 1576 (BUK, i, 355, 358); d. 1578.

Duncan McNair: vic. pen. Little Dunkeld 1552, vic. 1573, rdr. 1574-6 (see cathedral clergy, treasurers).

William Glass: stud. St. Andrews 1571-3 (St. A. Recs., 309-11; AFA, ii, 438, 441); min. Little Dunkeld 1576, vic. pen. 1583, still min. 1623 (Scott, Fasti, iv, 158; RMS, viii, no. 502);

min. Logierait, Dowally and Dunkeld 1583-1608> (Scott, Fasti, iv, 154, 158, 188); GA commiss. 1582-1607 (BUK, ii, 551 seq.); moderator Dunkeld Presb. 1607 (BUK, iii, 1037) d.c1624 (see cathedral clergy, treasurers).

LOGIEBRIDE:

Alexander Crichton: archd. Dunkeld 1558-9 (Watt, Fasti, 122); preb. Lundeiff at Ref., min. 1566, d. preb. 1573x7 (Assump. 313; Laing Chrs., no.806; Reg. Pres., i, fo. 94; RSS, vi, no. 2021; Acts and Decs., lxxi, fo. 271); rdr. Logiebride 1564-8 (Scott, Fasti, viii, 346; Reg. Min. 28; TB 253); preb. Craigie 1564 (RSS, v, no. 1660); rdr. Moneydie 1570-4 (Reg. Min., 28; TB, 253; Wod. Misc., 357); priest supporting Robert Crichton tried as a papist 1567, 1572.

James Lauder: poss. stud. St.Andrews Univ. 1537 or 1558 (St.A.Recs., 239, 265); preb. St. Giles, sent to France to study music (Edin. Recs. ii, 176); exh. Logiebride 1567, preb. 1569, rdr. 1569-72, min. 1574-9 (Reg. Min., 28; RSS, vi, no. 611; TB, 250; Wod. Misc., 357; Scott, Fasti, iv, 143; viii, 346); preb. Ferdischaw 1540-1607 (Fraser, Grandtully, 85, 105; RSS, vi, no. 611; RMS, iv, no. 542, v, no. 2100).

Thomas McGibbon: min. Logiebride 1572 (see Moneydie).

LOGIERAIT:

William Craigie: rdr. Logierait 1569-72 (see Grandtully).

Walter Robertson: rdr. Logierait <1572-3 see Dunkeld).

Alexander Hepburn: min. Logierait 1574 (see Little Dunkeld).

William Glass: min. Logierait >1583 (see Little Dunkeld).

LUDE:

George McIntosh: rdr. Lude 1574, d.1582x1627 (Wod. Misc., 356; Facts and Fancies Kilmaveonaig, 57).

John Barton: min. Lude 1574 (see cathedral clergy, deans).

LUNDEIFF:

Alexander Crichton: min. Lundeiff 1566 (see Logiebride).

Thomas Cruikshank: can. Scone 1557-70 (GRH Chrs., no. 1701; Lib. Scon, 212); min. Lundeiff 1567-90, par. and vic. 1573, paid own rdr. (Reg. Min., 19; TB, 250; Wod. Misc., 354; Fraser, Grandtully, 105; RSS, vi, no. 2021); min. Alyth 1568-72 (TB, 250); min. Rattray 1568-74 (TB, 250; Wod. Misc.,

354); min. Lethendy and Cambusmichael 1568-72 (TB, 250; Scott, Fasti, viii,, 347, 352); min. Blairgowrie and Strathardle 1574 (Wod. Misc. 354), still min. Blairgowrie 1588 (Acts and Decs., lxv, fo. 264) added to Dunkeld chapter for election of new bishop (NLS Adv.MSS 17.1.3 fo.369); d.1591.

William Drummond: rdr. Lundeiff 1569 (see Cargill).

Archibald Hering: rdr. Lundeiff 1574 (see Clunie).

James Moreis: rdr. Lundeiff 1576 (Reg.Min.,77).

MADDERTY:

John Hume: occ. Inchaffray 1556-62 (RMS, iv, nos. 1625, 2061, v, no. 869) cp. 1560-5 (Inchaffray Chrs., App. no. ix); servant David, Lord Drummond (Inchaffray Chrs., 164); exh. Madderty 1564-72 (Scott, Fasti, viii, 382; Reg. Min., 29; TB, 252).

Thomas McGibbon: min. Madderty 1568 (see Moneydie).

William Melrose: can. Inchaffray 1553-64 (SRO Todds, Murray and Jamieson GD237 nos. 55, 64, 65; Inchaffray Chrs. Intro., xcix; SRO Morton Papers GD150 no. 1757) pre-Ref. cur. Dupplin, min. and par. 1567, par. 1569-72 (Scott, Fasti, viii, 385; Reg. Min., 30; RSS, vi, no. 582; TB, 250); pre-Ref. cur. Trinity-Gask exh. 1564-72, min. 1574 (Scott, Fasti, viii, 385; Reg. Min., 29; TB, 252; Wod. Misc., 359); exh. Aberdalgie 1567-72 (Scott, Fasti, iv, 193); exh. Findogask 1567-72 vic. pen. 1572, min. 1574 (Reg. Min., 29; TB, 252; RSS, vi, no. 1707; Wod. Misc., 359); exh. Kinkell 1567 (Scott, Fasti, viii, 385); min. Fowlis-Wester 1574 (Wod. Misc., 359); min. Madderty 1574 (ibid., 359); d<1578 (Scott, Fasti, iv, 271).

George Spens: stud. St.Andrews 1531-4 (St.A.Recs., 129, 132, 228; AFA, ii, 373, 376); can.Inchaffray 1545-65 (RSS, iii, no. 1130; Inchaffray Chrs., xcix, no. c; SRO Todds, Murray and Jamieson GD237 no. 55; RMS, v, no. 174); pre-Ref. vic. Kinkell, d. vic. <1588 (RSS, lvii, fos. 71v, 81); poss. vic. pen. Kirkliston 1572, rdr. 1574 (RSS, vi, no. 1544; Wod. Misc., 367); rdr. Madderty 1574-86 (RSS, lii, fo. 1130; Wod. Misc., 359; Assig. 1586 fo. 21; RSS, lvii, fos. 71v, 81); d<1588.

Alexander Gaw: vic-pen. Abernethy 1550-1, rdr. Muthill 1564 (PB Andrew Drummond fo. 61; PB Alex. Gaw no. 14; Dunb. Consist. Act Bk., i, fo. 70); exh., min. Muthill and Strowan 1567-74 (TB, 251-2; Reg. Min. fo. 31; Wod. Misc., 252); min.

Trinity-Gask, Findogask, Madderty c1576-1614 (Todd, Dunblane, PhD, 175; Assig. 1591 fo. 22; 1614 fo. 53).

MEGGINCH:

Alexander Gray: poss. can. Caithness, vic. pen. Farr, prov. Tain 1529-66 (Haws, Scottish Parish Clergy, 85; Watt, Fasti, 374); rdr. Forbes 1567 (TB, 223; Reg.Min., 66); rdr. Megginch 1567-74 (Reg. Min., 19; TB, 253; Wod. Misc., 354).

Thomas Morrison or Strachan: son of Alexander Strachan of Thornon (Scott, Fasti, iv, 250); stud. St.Andrews 1537 (St.A.Recs., 238); poss. pre-Ref. cp. 1531-8 (RMS, iii, nos. 1075, 1877, 2085); can. Scone 1557 (GRH Chrs., no. 1701); min. Megginch 1567-74, vic. 1569 (Reg. Min. 19; TB, 253; Wod. Misc., 354); min. Scone 1567-74 (Reg. Min., 19; TB, 251; Wod. Misc., 354); min. Cambusmichael 1574 (Wod. Misc., 354); min. St. Martins 1574-1617? (RSS, vi, no. 279; Wilson, Presb. Perth, 270, 291); added to Dunkeld chapter for election of new bishop 1571-2 (NLS Adv. MSS 17.1.3 fo. 369); GA commiss. 1573 (BUK, i, 271); d1580x4 (Cal. Deeds, xxiv, fo. 225; RSS, liv. fo. 55).

MEIGLE:

Alexander Tyrie: min. Meigle 1568, exh. 1569, min. 1573 (see Auchterhouse).

David Ramsay: min. Meigle 1574-81 (see Alyth).

Thomas Irvine or Alexander: cp. Dunkeld 1550-66 (CA. Rent., ii, 67- (RMS, iv, no. 1138, iv, no. 1805); servant of James Hepburn dn. Dunkeld (RMS, iv, no. 1805); vic. Meigle 1566-74, rdr 1574 (TB, 255; Wod. Misc., 354); rdr. Blair Atholl 1576 (Ig. Min., 86); d1582.

Duncan Iurdo: rdr. Meigle 1574 (Wod. Misc., 354n).

John Hdane: stud. St.Andrews 1568-71 (St.A.Recs., 166, 275; AFA, i 436-7); rdr. Meigle 1576-8 (Reg. Min., 77).

James Iholson: b1557, stud.St.Andrews 1572-6 (St.A.Recs., 176, 2, 288); min. Cortachy 1580; min. and vic. Meigle 1583-D6 (RSS, viii, no. 1884; Scott, Fasti, v, 270, 279; Melvik, Diary, 302; Row, History, 208; BUK, iii, 983) GA commi: 1588-97 (BUK, ii, 729 seq.; Ellon Presb. 14 Oct. 1597 : 3) member of 15 out of 21 assemblies, moderator 1595 and 16, moderator Meigle Presb. 1606 (BUK, iii, 1035, 1037)burgess Dundee 1606 (Roll Eminent Burgesses Dundee, 100);ishop Dunkeld Apr. 1607, d. Aug. 1607 (Watt, Fasti, 101).

MENMUIR:

James Melville: min. Menmuir 1563-73 (see Fern).

Andrew Elder: b. c.1539, son of Alexander of Stone of Benholm pre-Ref. vic-pen. Glenbervie (Assump., i, fo. 363v); not. Glenbervie 1557-8 (RMS, iv, no. 1254; Laing Chrs., no. 690); not. to Erskine of Dun (Not. Admiss. NP 2.1. fo. 113r; SRO Erskine of Dun Mss GD 123/75); not. 1581-1607 (RMS, iv, nos. 1414, 2663; Bamff Chrs., 129; Laing Chrs., nos. 1512, 1514); vic. perpet. Menmuir 1568, rdr., 1568-86/9 (RSS, vi, no. 460; TB, 231; Reg. Min., 15; Acts and Decs., xli, fo. 300; Southesk Chrs. box 6 bdle. 3); d. c1608

William Gray: min. Menmuir 1574 (see Fern).

MONEYDIE:

William Ramsay: not. and cp. Perth 1523-48 (SRO KJV1 Hosp. Mun. GD794/51-5; 5/55); min. Moneydie at Ref.; d. Jan. 1570.

Patrick Laing: rdr. Moneydie 1564-70 (TB, 253; Reg. Min., 28; Scott, Fasti, viii, 363); vic. Clunie 1569, vic. pen. Kilspindie 1569-71 (Scott, Fasti, viii, 365); min. Clackmannan 1573, rdr. 1574-80, min. 1581 (Wod. Misc., 360; Stirling Presb. Recs., 22, 91); rdr. Tulliallan 1586, min. 1587-9, rdr. or min. until 1597 (Dunblane Visit., 53; Stirling Presb. Recs., 259; 309).

Thomas McGibbon or McGie or Robertson: pre-Ref. schoolmaster Dundee 1548-55 (Donaldson, Scottish Reformation, 87; ESL, 127); stud. St. Andrews Univ., 1566-9 (St.A.Recs., 164, 165, 273; AFA, ii, 429, 430-1); min. Moneydie 1567, par. 1568, vic. 1583, min. until 1595 (Reg. Min., 28; TB, 250-1; RSS, vi, no. 82; Wod. Misc., 357; Assig. 1595 fo. 23v; Scott, Fasti, iv, 224); min. Auchtergaven, Logiebride, Luncarty, Redgorton and Kinclaven 1567-76 (Reg. Min., 28; TB, 251; Wod. Misc., 357; Assig. 1576 fo. 33) min. Fowlis-Wester and Kinkell <1568 (RSS, vi, no. 82); min. Madderty 1568 (RSS, vi, no. 82); par. and vic. 1567-9 (Scott, Fasti, viii, 359), min. Kilmaveonaig <1576 (ibid., v, 224); min. Moulin 1595 (ibid., v, 224) d.1596

Thomas Glass: rdr. Moneydie 1568-9 (see Rannoch).

William Laing: stud. St. Andrews Univ. 1544-8 (AFA, ii, 400; St.A.Recs 149, 250); vic. Forteviot 1548-65 (TB, 85, 147; RSS, iv, no. 2591, v, no. 1941); vic. perpet. Moneydie 1552-79 (RSS, iv, no. 1758; TB, 255); min. Moneydie 1561-7 (Scott, Fasti, iv, 188, 224); vic. Aberdour 1553 (RSS, iv, no. 2269); par. and vic. Ecclesjohn <Ref. (Assump. 340v); min. Ceres 1567-76 (Reg. Min., 24; TB, 243; Wod. Misc., 364); min. Cupar, Monzie and Tarvit 1574-6

(TB, 364; Scott, Fasti, v, 130; min. Carnbee, with vic. Moneydie 1579 (Scott, Fasti, v, 130); d. Apr. 1583 (ibid, v, 188)).

Alexander Crichton: rdr. Moneydie 1570-4 (see Logiebride).

MOULIN:

Gregor Dougalson or MacDougall: alias McGregor; poss. servant of James Gregory, dn. of Lismore (SRO Breadalbane Mun., GD 112/2/77/3); rdr. Moulin 1574-8, vic. 1576 (Wod. Misc., 356; RSS, vii, no. 529); d. 1578x80 (RSS, vii, no. 1716; Scott, Fasti, iv, 168; viii, 352; Reg. Pres. ii, fo. 10).

Alexander Hepburn: min. Moulin 1574 (see Little Dunkeld).

Archibald Hering: min. Moulin 1576-91 (see Clunie).

William Crarer: nominated to preb. Menmuir 1559 (NLS Adv. MSS 29/28/32); vic. and rdr. Moulin 1578 (Reg. Pres., i, fo. 10; RSS, vii, no. 1716; Scott, Fasti, viii, 352)

Walter Tullis: min. Moulin 1578, served as helper to George Lundie at Dalmeny 1588-d.1606 (Scott, Fasti, iv, 168; i, 200).

Duncan McClaggane: rdr. Moulin 1579-85 (see Dull).

MUCKERSIE:

Robert Lawson: not., poss. cl. St.Andrews 1517-26, vic. Eglisgreg 1526-55 (Fraser, Grandtully, 152; RMS, iii, nos. 897, 2636; vic-pen. Muckersie 1554, min. 1564 (RSS, iv, no. 2332; St.A.KSR, ii, 228)).

William Lauder: min. Muckersie 1567-69x74 (see Forgandenny).

John Row: min. Muckersie 1569-85 (see Forgandenny).

John Thomson: alias George Morrison; poss. cur. Kinkell 1554 (RMS, iv, no. 948); conformed priest St.Andrews (St.A.KSR, i, 11, 15); rdr. Dunbarney 1569 (Moncrieffs and Moncreiffs, i, 309); rdr. Moncrieff 1569 (TB, 254; Reg. Min., 27); rdr. Muckersie, 1569-76, vic. 1570-2 (Reg. Min., 28; TB, 254; Wod. Misc., 358; Scott, Fasti, viii, 365); d<1576.

John Lindsay: preb. Muckersie 1584 (Fraser, Grandtully, i, 105); desig. min. Muckersie 1585-91 (see prebs. Menmuir).

PITCAIRN:

Alexander Young: min. Pitcairn 1574 (see Tibbermore).

office of rdr. omitted 1574 (Wod. Misc., 357).

PRESTON AND BUNKLE:

John Black: poss. cur. Dron 1550-1 (Dunb. Consist. Act Bk., i, fo. 21v); poss. fr. Perth, rdr. Dunning (McRoberts, Scottish Reformation, 140) priest, exh. Preston and Bunkle 1569 (TB, 283; Reg. Min. 13; RPC, ii, 40)

Thomas Frude: rdr. Preston and Bunkle <1574 (Wod. Misc., 372); rdr. Quittingham 1574 (ibid., 371).

parish vacant 1574 (BUK, ii, 318).

George Ramsay: son of Alexander Ramsay of Foulden; stud. St. Andrews 1568-71 (St.A.Recs., 164, 167, 276; AFA, ii, 433, 437n); min. Preston, Foulden, Chirnside and Dalkeith 1574-5 (Wod. Misc. 372; BUK, ii, 336) min. Lasswade <1582; min. Glencorse 1585-94; prov., dn. Restalrig 1575-1602 (RSS, vii, no. 313; Midl. Chrs., cxiii; BUK, iii, 1006); GA commiss. 1582-1608 (BUK, ii, 589 seq.); d. 1629 (Scott, Fasti, i, 329).

William Sinclair: poss. fr. Haddington 1539, warden Inverkeithing 1552 (Moir-Bryce, Scottish Greyfriars, i, 250, 258-61); rdr. Preston and Bunkle 1574-80 (Wod. Misc., 372), vic. Bunkle 1582, vic. Preston and Bunkle 1585, removed Preston 1590, returned 1597-1616 (Calderwood, History, iv, 604).

RANNOCH:

Thomas Glass: cp. St.Christopher, Perth; cp. Strathearn 1540 (RSS, ii, no. 3498); rdr. Rannoch 1567-9 (Scott, Fasti, viii, 358); rdr. Moneydie 1568-9 (TB, 253); rdr. Monzievaird 1568-9, exh. 1570-2, rdr. 1574, d. vic. <1576 (Reg. Min., 28; TB, 253; Wod. Misc., 359 & n; RSS, vii, no. 589)

John Barton: min. Rannoch 1574 (see Clunie).

Patrick Williamson: pre-Reformation cp. Breadalbane (SRO Breadalbane Mun. GD 112/1/147); witness adoption chr. by Colin Campbell of Glenorchy at Rannoch (Taymouth Bk., 204); rdr. Rannoch 1574, d. 1582 (Wod. Misc., 356).

RATTRAY:

John Rattray: rdr. Rattray 1567-8 (see Caputh).

John Carwour: vic. Auchterhouse 1547 (RMS, iv, no. 108); rdr. Rattray and Lethendy 1569-78 (TB, 252; Scott, Fasti, viii, 352).

David Ramsay: min. Rattray 1572-5 (see Alyth).

David Cargill: of Kirklands of Rattray; vic. perpet. Rattray 1574, rdr. 1574-1606 (RSS, vi, no. 2504; Wod. Misc., 354; Perth Sas., ii, fo. 269; v, fo. 225); not. 1583-1618, d. 1622x24 (Scott, Fasti, viii, 353; Bamff Chrs., 136 seq; Taymouth Bk., 227).

REDGORTON:

Alexander Colt: 5th son of Blaise Colt of Perth (Family of Colt, 39); Dominican fr. Perth 1548 (Milne, Perth Blackfriars, 241); exh. Redgorton 1564-72, min. 1574. vic. 1577, min. 1591 (Reg. Min., 28; TB, 252; Wod. Misc., 357; RSS, vii, no. 1337; Scott, Fasti, iv, 241; viii, 370); rdr. Perth 1565 (SRO KJV1 Hospital Mun. Perth GD 79/5/79); min. Luncarty 1574 (Wod. Misc., 357).

Thomas McGibbon: min. Redgorton 1567-<1576

ROSYTH:

David Ferguson: d. 1523x33, native of Dundee; skinner, self-educated in classics and divinity (Scott, Fasti, v, 26; Webster, Dunfermline Abbey, 99); bef. Dundee justices accused of abusing scriptures 1558 (McCries 'Life of Knox', i, 446); min. Dunfermline 1560-74 (Scott, Fasti, v, 26; BUK, i, 32; TB, 152-3, 243; Reg. Min., 26; Wod. Misc., 363); min. Rosyth 1563-72 (TB, 243; Reg. Min., 26); min. Carnock 1563-74 (TB, 243; Wod. Misc., 363); member 39 GAs 1563-94, moderator 1572 and 1578 (BUK, i, 32 seq); d. 1598.

John Burne: cp. and not. Linlithgow 1533 (PB Johnson, no. 64); occ. Rosyth 1538, cp. 1550 (RMS, iii, no. 1777, iv, no. 463); rdr. Rosyth 1563 min. 1574 (TB, 245; Reg. Min., 26; Wod. Misc., 362); min. Inveresk 1562-72 (BUK, i, 13; Reg. Min., 10; TB, 275); rdr. Dunfermline 1563-9 (TB, 245; Reg. Min., 26); min. Inverkeithing 1570-4 (TB, 242; Reg. Min., 26; Wod. Misc., 362); min. Dalgety 1572-3 (Scott, Fasti, viii, 408); min. Torry and Crombie 1574 (Wod. Misc., 362).

John Christieson: can. Inchcolm (Webster, Dunfermline Abbey, 116); rdr. Dunfermline 1570-4; rdr. Rosyth 1574 (Inverkeithing and Rosyth, 272).

George Dury: cp. Inverkeithing 1560-88 (Scott, Fasti, viii, 412); min. Carnbee 1572, par. 1599 (Scott, Fasti, v, 188); rdr. Rosyth 1574 (Scott, Fasti, viii, 412; Wod. Misc., 362).

RUTHVEN:

James Fleming: pre-Ref. vic-pen. Ruthven (PB Duncan Gray NP 1.16 fo. 62r; RH 2.1.22 fo. 221); rdr. Ruthven 1563 (TB, 233); not. Perth and Erroll (Morris, Provosts of Methven, 46, 47; RMS, iv, nos. 2605, 2820, v, no. 990, vi, nos. 891-2); poss. min. Ruthven 1570, performed marriage in kirk (PB Duncan Gray NP 1.16 fo. 62r; RH 2.1.22 fo. 221).

Lawrence Duncan: rdr. Ruthven 1567 (see Alyth).

Walter Lindsay: rdr. Arbirlot 1563-9 (TB, 233; Reg. Min., 17); vic. Ruthven 1569, rdr. <1574 (RSS, vi, no. 680; Wod. Misc., 354); rdr. Finaven 1576 (Reg. Min., 76).

David Ramsay: min. Ruthven 1572-90 (see Alyth).

James Sanderson: rdr. Ruthven 1572 (see Alyth).

David Cumming: rdr. Ruthven 1574, vic. 1575-6, 1580 (RSS, vii, nos. 98, 742, 2447; Wod. Misc., 354n); servitor of John Crichton of Ruthven 1579 (Acts and Decs., lxxvi, fo. 384); master song school, Leith, 1583 (Acts and Decs., lv, fo. 268); master Canongate song school, 1584-5 (SRO CH 4.1.2 (RPB ii) fo. 122v); master Edinburgh song school 1586, d. preb. Restalrig 1590 (SRO CH 4.1.2, RPB ii), fos. 160, 169).

Robert Carmyllie: poss. rdr. Ruthven 1576-80 (RSS, vii, nos. 742, 2447; viii, no. 1469).

Thomas Maxwell: poss. can. Holyrood 1559-65 (PB Thounis, no. 8; RSS, v, no. 2142); stud. St. Andrews 1574-7 (St. A. Recs., 176, 178, 285; AFA, ii, 448); rdr. Ruthven 1579-80 (Scott, Fasti, v, 274; RSS, vii, no. 742).

SALINE:

Peter Blackwood: min. Saline 1564-74 (see Aberdour).

James Blackwood, senior: of Dunblane clerical family; cp. 1544 (Cal. Chrs., no. 1344); rdr., exh. Saline, vic. 1567, deleted 1574, dem. vic. 1575 on promotion to Sanquhar, still min. Saline 1577 (RSS, vi, no. 68; vii, no. 197; Wod. Misc., 363n; BUK, ii, 386-7); min. Sanquhar 1577-84 (BUK, ii, 572); deprived of Saline 1584 (RSS, viii, nos. 1969, 2661).

James Blackwood, junior: keeper register bk. of Dunblane 1583 (Stirling Presb. Recs., 105); rdr. Saline 1583 (ibid, 181); min Saline 1584 (RSS, viii, no. 2661), 'sometime minister' Saline 1590 (RPC, iv, 521).

Thomas Brown: rdr. Saline 1571, vic. 1575(Wod. Misc., 363; Scott, Fasti, viii, 414).

John Paton: rdr. Saline <1574, vic. 1575 (Reg. Pres., i, fo. 120v; Acts and Decs., lx, fo. 199; Scott, Fasti, viii, 414).

James Stewart: min. Saline >1584-1605 (BUK, iii, 1020).

STRATHARDLE:

John Hommill: stud. St.Andrews 1555-6 (AFA, ii, 406); min. Strathardle 1562 (TA, xi, 238; Scott, Fasti, iv, 163); min. Kinglassie and Portmoak 1563-4 (TB, 243); min. Dunning 1567-86 (Reg. Min., 29; TB, 251; RSS, vi, no. 708; Wod. Misc., 358; SRO E 47/3 (1586) 23v); vic. Auchterarder 1568 min. 1569-86 and min. Aberuthven 1568-86 (TB, 251; Reg. Min., 29; Wod. Misc., 358; SRO E 47/3 (1586) 23v); min. Kinkell 1574-86 (Wod. Misc., 358; SRO E 47/3 (1586) 23v); added to Dunkeld chapter for election of new bishop 1571-2 (NLS Adv. MSS 17.1.3 fo. 369); suspended by Perth synod 1586 (Dunblane Visit., 47); deprived 1594 for baptism of illegitimate child (Scott, Fasti, iv, 268); d. c1620 when son served as heir.

William Eviot: of Balhousie, son of Patrick Eviot of Balhousie (Black, Surnames, 249; RMS, v, no. 1277); rdr. Monzievaird <1565 (BUK, i, 58); exh., rdr. Strathardle 1564-74, exh. Glenshee 1564-72 (BUK, i, 58; Reg. Min., 19; TB, 252; Wod. Misc., 354; Scott, Fasti, viii, 351).

Thomas Cruikshank: min. Strathardle 1574 (see Lundeiff).

Alexander Robertson: rdr. Strathardle 1576 (see Clunie).

STRATHFILLAN:

John McCorcadill: exh. Strathfillan 1567, min.1574-84 (see Killin)

office of rdr. vacant 1574 (Wod. Misc., 356).

John Burdon:rdr., min. Strathfillan 1567-93 (see Killin).

Donald McVicar: min. Strathfillan 1585, trans.to Kilmadoun (Scott, Fasti, iv, 190); occ. Ardeonaig 1585 (Buke of Bandis Duncan fo. 19r).

John Marshall: min. Strathfillan 1585 (see Killin).

STRATHMIGLO:

George Leslie: min. Strathmiglo 1562-6 (BUK, i, 13, 90; TB, 243); min. Auchtermuchty 1563-4, vic. 1575, rdr. 1576-8, dem. 1579 (TB, 243; RSS, vii, nos. 200, 1989; Scott, Fasti, v, 126); min. Kilconquhar 1567, vic. 1568, min. 1568-72, dem. 1573 (Reg. Min., 23; RSS, vi, nos. 443, 2143; TB, 242-3); par. and vic. Mortlach 1573, min. 1575-94 (Wod. Misc., 341; RSS, vi, no. 2125, vii, no. 217; Scott, Fasti, iii, 209); min. Aberlour, Dalmeath and Botriphnie 1574 (Wod. Misc., 341); GA commiss. 1566 (Calderwood, History, ii, 330); member GA 1571 (BUK, i, 204, 238).

John Mason: poss. mk. Lindores (McRoberts, Scottish Reformation, 138); parish clerk Leslie 1556 (RMS, iv, no. 1138); rdr. Strathmiglo and Auchtermuchty 1563 (TB, 245; Scott, Fasti, viii, 452); d. 1563x5 (RSS, v. no. 2265).

William Bradfuite: can. St.Andrews <Ref.-1571 (Scott, Fasti, v, 73; GRH Chrs., no. 2015; BUK, i, 222); stud. St.Andrews 1560-4 (AFA, ii, 423; St.A.Recs., 158, 267); min. Strathmiglo 1567-72, vic. 1573 (Reg. Min., 24; TB, 242; RSS, vi, no. 1832); min. Kilgour and Falkland 1567-93 (Reg. Min., 24; TB, 242; St.A.Commiss. (SRS), 8, 50); min. Lathrisk 1569-72 (TB, 244); min. Markinch 1581-4, returned <1585 (RFC, ii, fo. 235); min. Ballingry 1584; min. Portmoak c1590, d. Mar. 1594 (Scott, Fasti, v, 73).

John Balfour: poss. cp. Cupar 1524 (RMS, iii, no. 1781); poss. stud. St.Andrews 1535-9 or 1540-44; dn.St.Andrews 1551, vic. of prov. Martin Balfour (AFA, i, lxiii); vic. Cults 1550, conformed and served, found unqualified, dismissed 1563, placed in an 'obscurer congregation according to the measure of his gifts' (St.A KSR, i, 11, 15; BUK, i, 31); vic. Linton 1563 (RSS, v, no. 1223); vic. Calder-Clere 1566-d.1582 (RMS, v, no. 2819; Reg. Pres., ii, fo. 74); rdr. Strathmiglo 1567-72 (Reg. Min., 24; TB,

245); vic. Lathrisk 1573, min. 1574(RSS, vi, no. 2171; Wod. Misc., 364); d. 1582.

Alexander Muir: stud. and cl. St.Andrews 1551 (St.A.Recs., 149, 255, 296; AFA, ii, 401); can. St.Andrews 1555-71 (St.A.Chrs., no. 323; BUK, i, 222); min. Kilgour 1566, exh. 1568, min. 1570-4 (GRH Chrs., no. 2015; TB, 245; Wod. Misc., 364); exh. Lathrisk 1567-8, min. 1574 (Reg. Min., 24; TB, 244; Wod. Misc., 364); exh. Auchtermuchty 1569, min. 1570-2 (TB, 244); min. Kirkforthar 1574 (Wod. Misc., 364); min. Strathmiglo 1574-81 (Wod. Misc., 364; BUK, ii, 524); min. Falkland 1581 (Stirling Presb. Recs., xxxvi, 196-7; BUK, ii, 524).

Robert Scott: vic. Strathmiglo 1572, rdr. 1574, 'pettie vic.' 1580-1, min.1584-91 (RSS, vi, nos. 1798, 1815; viii, no. 2285; Wod. Misc., 364; BUK, i, 264; Acts and Decs., liii, fo. 291; lvii, fo. 206; Scott, Fasti, viii, 452); rdr. Pettinain 1574 (Wod. Misc., 378).

Thomas Scott: brother of Robert above; priest, cur. conformed (Scott, Fasti, iv, 287, viii, 385); vic. Collessie 1547-d<1586 (RSS, iii, no. 2456; Assump. 97, 103; Reg. Pres., ii, fo. 170v); vic. Cramond <Ref.-d<1588 (Assump. 137; TB, 156, 162, 278; RSS, iv, no. 61); cur., exh. Kinkell 1564 (Acts and Decs., xxxii, fo. 404); rdr. Findogask 1564-74 (Scott, viii, 381; Reg. Min., 29; TB, 254; Wod. Misc., 359); min. Strathmiglo 1584 (RSS, viii, no. 2285); d. 1586x8.

STRUAN:

John Barton: min. Struan 1574 (see Clunie).

Duncan Robertson: alias Jamieson (Atholl and Tullibardine, v, p. lxiii; RMS, v, no. 1357); rdr. Struan 1574-8 (Wod. Misc., 356; Scott, Fasti, iv, 146).

Finlay Robertson: rdr. Struan 1579-d.1582 (Scott, Fasti, iv, 146).

TEALING:

David Robertson: cp. St.Andrews 1534 (RMS, iii, no. 1552); cp. and not. Dundee 1541 (RMS, iii, no. 2523); can. St.Andrews <Ref.-1571 (GRH Chrs. no. 2015; BUK, i, 222); min. Tealing 1563-72 (Reg. Min., 15; TB, 232; Calderwood, History, iii, 186); min. Rossie 1565-85, vic. 1570 (Reg. Min., 20; RSS, vi, no. 935; Wod. Misc., 353; Scott, Fasti, v, 344); min. Abernethy 1565 (RSS, xxxiii, fo. 93); min. Inchturre and Kinnaird 1574-88 (Wod. Misc., 353; Scott,

Fasti, v, 342); burgess Dundee 1576 (Roll Eminent Dundee Burgesses, 49).

Alexander Maxwell: stud. St.A. 1539-42 (St.A.Recs., 143, 146, 243; AFA, ii, 394, 397); not. St.A. dioc. <1555; rdr. Tealing 1563 (TB, 233) not. Powrie 1579 (RMS, iv, no. 2917); d. 1580 (Edin. Test. cc8.8.9. fo. 130v).

Alexander or Andrew Gib: rdr. Tealing 1567-90, vic. 1573 (Reg. Min. 17; TB, 233; RSS, vi, no. 1974; Wod. Misc., 332; Scott, Fasti, v, 369; Acts and Decs., lv, fo. 11v)

Adam Foulis: preb. St. Marys on the Rock 1544, min. 1569-72 (TB, 275; Reg. Min., 8); vic. perpet. Tealing at Ref., min. 1568, d. vic. 1573 (Assump. 334; TB, 92, 149-50, 231; RSS, vi, no. 1974; Scott, Fasti, viii, 496); min. Whithorn 1563 (TB, 291); min. Newbattle 1569-72 (TB, 275; Reg. Min. 8); min. Heriot 1570, min. Cambuslang 1572 (RSS, vi, no. 2815; Scott, Fasti, i, 331); preb. Lambylatham-d <Apr. 1573 (RSS, vi, no. 1939);

Alexander Tyrie: min. Tealing 1574-90 (see Auchterhouse).

TIBBERMORE:

Edmond Moncrieff: prob. eldest son of John Moncrieff of West Rynd poss. saw military service in France under Cassillis and Ruthven (RPC, i, 136); rdr. Tibbermore 1564-72 (Scott, Fasti, viii, 375; Reg. Min. 29; TB, 253); rdr. Methven 1567-74 (Reg. Min., 29; Wod. Misc., 358); d. <1576 (RSS, xliii, fo. 88).

Alexander Young: fr. Glasgow and Inverness <Ref. (ESL, 138); carmelite fr. Perth 1561-2 (TB, 98, 153); prior Tullileum <1588; glebe from superintendent 1561, min. Tibbermore 1567, vic. 1572, min. 1572-d. 1592x1608 (Perth Inhib., 4 Mar. 1593-4; Acts and Decs., xxxvii, fo. 122, clxvii, fo. 391; Fittis, Perth, 209), min. Methven 1567-72 (Reg. Min., 29; TB, 252); min. Aberdalgie, Dupplin and Pitcairn 1574 (Wod. Misc., 357; Scott, Fasti, iv, 254); added to Dunkeld chapter for election of new bishop 1571-2 (NLS Adv. MSS 17.1.3 fo. 369); d. 1592x1608.

William Gibson: rdr. Tibbermore 1574 (see Aberdalgie).

Robert Simpson: rdr. Tibbermore 1574 (see Aberdalgie).

Robert Sinclair: cp. Dunblane 1562 (RMS, v, no. 842); vic. Aberlady 1577-84 (RSS, vii, no. 1491; Reg. Pres., i, fo. 152v; Fraser, Grandtully, 105); rdr. Tibbermore 1578-94 (RSS, lxvi, fo. 28); min. Madderty 1595 min. Auchterarder <1601, returned Madderty 1603 (Scott, Fasti, iv, 277).

Patrick Murray: poss. can. Inchaffray 1548-90 (PB Rollok, no. 57) and prior Strathfillan (GUA Resig. 1556-9 fo. 181); min. Tibbermore 1581 (Fittis, Perth, 209).

TORRYBURN or TORRY:

John Hutchison: min. Torry 1567-9 (see Crombie).

John Burne: min. Torry 1574 (see Rosyth).

William Lawson: rdr. Torry 1574 (see Crombie).

WEEM:

William Ramsay: min. Weem 1564 (see Inchaiden).

Duncan McAuley: exh. Weem 1569-71, min. 1574 (see Fortingall).

Duncan McGregor: rdr. Weem 1569 (see Fortingall).

William Craigie: rdr. Weem 1574-5 (see Grandtully).

Duncan McClaggane: min. Weem 1586 (see Dull).

(d) Cathedral Clergy of Dunkeld, 1560-85Cathedral DignitariesDeans:

James Hepburn, of family of Whitsome; dn Dunkeld 1526-66 (Watt, Fasti, 105); as dn. also preb. of Cluny and Inchaiden; vic. perpet. Inverness, rec. Rynie 1523-26 (ADC 35 fo. 2086); treas. Moray 1526-1554/60 (Watt, Fasti, 230); member provincial council 1549 (Patrick, Statutes, 84); preb. Essil and Kinnedar 1552-65 (Haws, Scottish Parish Clergy, 83, 140); prov. Crichton, par. and vic. 1553-66/7 (Watt, Fasti, 350); preb. Brechin 1562-65 (RSS, v, nos. 1159, 2006); late vic. Blair Atholl 1576 (Reg. Pres., i, fo. 128), however d. < Dec. 1566.

John Barton or Betoun: dn. Dunkeld 1566-1586/d. 1589 (Watt, Fasti, 105); preb. Bute, Secundo (Restalrig) 1552 (RSS, iv, no. 1599); cl. St. Andrews 1557 (Reg. Supp. 2920 275v-276r, 2922 fo. 53r-53v); supplic. vic. perpet. Cramond 1557 (ibid, 2933 fo. 39v-40r) and Cardross 1558 (ibid, 2936 fo. 238r, 2940 fo. 107); vic. pen. Forgandenny < Ref. dem. 1567 (Assump. 296; RSS, v, no. 3178, vi, no. 90); vic. Preston 1562-71 (TB, 163, 286) preb. Cluny 1566, min. 1574 (RSS, v, no. 3152, Wod. Misc. 356); comm. Dunkeld 1566, North of Forth 1567 (RSS, v, nos. 3156, 3209); oversight Blair Atholl, Kilmaveonaig, Lude, Rannoch and Struan 1574 (Wod. Misc. 356); 1575 accused of non-residence (BUK, i, 336); sen. 1584-55 (Brunton and Haig, Senators, 197; Calderwood, History, iv, 341).

Precentors:

William Adamson: prec. Dunkeld 1558-1563/5 (Watt, Fasti, 109); cp. Edinburgh 1529-30 (PB Foular, nos. 192, 229, 344); vic. Kinclaven 1563/d. 1565 (RSS, v, nos. 1450, 2113).

William Curll: prec. Dunkeld 1565-71 (Watt, Fasti, 109); 1571 at horn for non-compearance (RSS, v, nos. 1450, 2113, vi, no. 1346); preb. Kinclaven 1565 (RSS, v, no. 2113); his father James, member of the catholic faction in Edinburgh, was 'allegit chanter', in 1575 in exile at Paris Univ. (CSP Rome, ii, no. 429); a William Curll occ. stud. Paris Univ. 1579 (SHR, xliii, 73); late chanter < 1584 (Reg. Pres., ii, fos. 119, 125v).

George Ruthven; prec. Dunkeld < d. 1571 (Watt, Fasti, 109); vic. Fowlis Wester 1553-4 (Dunblane Consist. Act Bk., ii, fo. 349v); tutor to Lord Ruthven.

James Ruthven; prec. Dunkeld 1571-1595 (Watt, Fasti, 110); patron of chapels of Ruthven, Tibbermore and 1/3 Forgandenny, (RSS, viii, no. 1907); brother of George, previous prec.

John Crichton; prec. Dunkeld 1584 (Reg. Pres., ii, fo. 119)

Chancellors:

William Gordon; of family of Lesmoir (Recs. of Aboyne, 68); chanc. Dunkeld 1553-1568/71 (Watt, Fasti, 112); cl. Moray 1530 (Reg. Supp. 2027 fo. 100r); dn. Dunblane 1539-1551 (Watt, Fasti, 82); can. Moray 1541-1553/4 (SRO Guthrie and Guthrie, GD188 box 1, no. 11); treas. Caithness 1547-71 (Watt, Fasti, 69); preb. Lairg 1547-71 (Haws, Scottish Parish Clergy, 154); preb. Lethendy 1553-d.1571 (ibid., 160); preb. Brachlie and Petty 1562-d.1571/2 (ibid., 31, 199).

William Edmonstone; chanc. Dunkeld 1571-96 (Watt, Fasti, 112); preb. Lethendy 1571-1595 (Haws, Scottish Parish Clergy, 160; Assig. passim 1595 fo. 23v); min. Caputh, Cargill and Lethendy 1571-95 (see parish clergy).

Treasurers:

John Moncrieff; stud. St. Andrews 1527-9 (AFA, ii, 357, 36; St. A Recs 120, 122, 224); servant of Cardinal of Ravenna 1531-2 (James V Letters, 208-9); treas. Dunkeld 1549-61 (Watt, Fasti, 115); vic. and exh. Little Dunkeld 1549-61 (Haws, Scottish Parish Clergy, 164); vic. Dunbarney 1557, exh. 1561-72 (ibid., 68); vic. Pottie and Moncrieff <Ref., exh. 1561 (ibid., 68, 181, 201); vic. perpet Dron <d.1579; participated in murder of kinsman of Lord Oliphant 1578, in turn murdered 1579 (RSS, xlv, no. 80, xlvi, no. 71; Acts and Decs., lxxxi, fo. 125; RPC, iii, 200, 213, 215, 216)

Stephen Culross, or Wilson (>1561); priest, cp. Dunblane, 1532-41 (RMS, iii, nos. 1257, 1997, 2036, 2488; Fraser, Keir, 150; ADCP, 375; Cambus Reg., 264-7); Stephen Wilson cl. Dunblane (Reg. Supp. 2765 fo. 111v); cp. and not. St. Andrews dioc. 1553-4 (Orkney Recs. 341); treas. Orkney 1544-7 (Watt, Fasti, 257); preb. Stronsay 1544-57 (Haws, Scottish Parish Clergy, 230); treas. Dunkeld 1554-61 involved in litigation for treas. 1561, used alias Wilson (Watt, Fasti, 115); preb. Caputh 1554 (PB Harlaw, no. 90v); during 1560s involved with Jesuits (see chap. 5 'The Jesuit Mission and Dunkeld').

Robert Abercrombie; 1534-1613; of family of Murthly, brother of fr. Andrew. At court during youth; stud. St. Andrews, graduated with brother 1551 (St.A.Recs., 156, 255, 257, 264); preb. Buttergill 1559-1567, par. 1571-2 (RSS, v, nos. 649, 3490; SRO Airlie Mun. GD 16 sec.48 no.21); vic. Dowally <Ref.-1574, preb. Dunkeld and Little Dunkeld <Ref.- c.1574 (Haws, Scottish Parish Clergy, 64, 71, 164); treas. Dunkeld 1561-73, deprived for failure to sign Articles of Religion (Watt, Fasti, 115; RSS, vi, no. 2240); involved in litigation over Caputh 1561 (Dunk. Rent. 347-8); cp. St.Nicholas, Dunblane, 1561-8 (TB, 165, 255); joined Jesuits 1562 (see 'The Jesuit Mission and Dunkeld').

Duncan McNair: not. 1539-73 (RMS, iv, no. 1136; PB Rollok no.64 Stewarts of Forthergill, 104; RMS,iv,nos.2236, 2244); vic.-pen. Lagganallochie 1544 (RSS, iii, no. 864); proc. of John Piper, cp. Dunkeld 1546-7 and William Crichton 1551 (PB Rollok nos. 21, 93); vic. pen. Little Dunkeld 1552, vic. 1573, rdr. 1574-6 (Haws, Scottish Parish Clergy, 164; Reg. Min., 80); comm. cl. 1565 (RSS, v, nos. 2443, 3327, treas. Dunkeld 1573-7 (Watt, Fasti, 115); vic. Leny 1576 (RMS, iv, no. 2524); proc. Coupar Angus 1581 (CA Chrs.,ii,242);d. <1582 (Reg. res., ii, fo. 69)

Walter Stewart; vic. pen. Dowally <Ref., conformed and served, rdr. 1574 (Haws, Scottish Parish Clergy,64);treas. Dunkeld 1582 (Watt, Fasti, 115)

William Glass; stud. St. Andrews 1571-3 (AFA, ii, 438,441; St.A Recs. 309-11); min. Dowally, Dunkeld, Little Dunkeld and Logierait 1574-1608/14 (see parish clergy); treas. Dunkeld 1583-1623 (Watt, Fasti, 115).

William Isaac; treas. Dunkeld 1584 (Bamff Chrs, 131), prob. same as above.

Subdeans:

Richard Haldane: b.c1523; stud. St. Andrews 1539-41 (St.A Recs. 144, 243); cl. Dunblane 1550 (Reg. Supp. 2701 fo. 243r-v); suppl. subdn Dunkeld 1550 (Reg. Supp. 2713 fo.134r-v; 2836 fo. 113r); subdn.Dunkeld 1558-1606(Watt,Fasti, 117); vic. Obney 1558-75 (Haws, Scottish Parish Clergy 192); 1583 remission for involvement in Raid of Ruthven (RMS, v, nos. 196, 638); vic. Meigle 1586-90 (Scott, Fasti, viii 477); constable Stirling Castle 1592-1606 (Laing Chrs, no. 1248).

Subchanters:

William Crichton; cp.Dunkeld 1540 (Fraser, Grandtully, 83); poss. stud St. Andrews 1545-52 (St.A.Recs., 151, 153, 251, 257); can. Aberdeen, preb. Logy-Coldstone, 1545/6-d.65 (RSS, iii, no. 1538; RMS, iv, no. 421) RSS, v, no.2049); subch. Dunkeld 1558-1562x5 (Watt, Fasti, 118); preb. Rattray 1558-65 (Haws, Scottish Parish Clergy, 204).

Andrew Abercrombie; subch. Dunkeld 1565- 91 (Watt, Fasti, 118); preb. Rattray 1565-85x91 (Haws, Scottish Parish Clergy, 204; Acts and Decs., xxxvi, fo. 12)

Archdeacons:

David Spens; stud. St. Andrews 1541-4 (St.A.Recs., 246, 251); archdn. Dunkeld 1547-86 (Watt, Fasti, 122); preb. Tealing and Lagganallochie 1554-d.81 (Haws, Scottish Parish Clergy, 154); occ. 1585-6 (Watt, Fasti, 122).

Alexander Crichton; priest <Ref.; archdn. Dunkeld 1558-9 after litigation with David Spens(SRO CH7/73; Watt, Fasti, 122); preb. Lundeiff <Ref.-d.1573/77 (Cal. Deeds, lxxi, fo.271; Laing Chrs., no.806; Reg. Pres., i, fo. 94; Haws, Scottish Parish Clergy, 172); preb. Craigie 1564 (RSS, v,no.1660).

James Spens; son of David above; archdn. Dunkeld 1581 (Watt, Fasti, 122); poss. preb. Tealing and Lagganallochie on death of father (Haws,Scottish Parish Clergy,154;Reg.Pres., ii, fo.52).

Prebends of Dunkeld Cathedral

Aberlady	1452x69	(Myln, <u>Vitae</u> , 24; <u>RMS</u> , ii, no. 1056)
Alyth	1452x69	(Myln, ; <u>Vitae</u> , 24; <u>RMS</u> , ii, no. 1056)
Caputh	x 1274	(<u>SHS Misc.</u> , vi, 48)
Clunie and Inchaiden	1236x49	(<u>SHS Misc.</u> , vi, 73; Myln, <u>Vitae</u> , 10; Cowan, <u>Parishes</u> , 32, 84-5)
Craigie	x 1274	(<u>SHS Misc.</u> , vi, 48)
Crieff	1236x49	(Myln, <u>Vitae</u> , 10; <u>SHS Misc.</u> , vi, 49)
Dowally	?	(Reg. Pres., i, fo. 100v)
Ferdischaw	1484x1506	(Myln, <u>Vitae</u> , 41-2)
Fern	1274x1462	(<u>SHS Misc.</u> , vi, 48, 72; <u>CPL</u> , xii, 153)
Forgandenny	1430	(<u>CPL</u> , viii, 204)
Fungarth	x 1274	(<u>SHS Misc.</u> , vi, 48)
Inchmagrannoch	x 1274	(<u>SHS Misc.</u> , vi, 49)
Lagganallochie and Tealing	1312x37	(Myln, <u>Vitae</u> , 13; <u>Chron. Extracta</u> , 147; <u>SHS Misc.</u> , vi, 48; Reg. Suppl. 386 fo. 40; cf. Cowan, <u>Parishes</u> , 126, 196)
Lethendy	x 1560	(<u>Dunk. Rent.</u> , 347; cf. Cowan, <u>Parishes</u> , 131; Assump. 294v)
Little Dunkeld	x 1560	(Reg. Pres., i, fo. 100v)
Lundeiff	x 1498	(SRO Erroll Chrs. GD175 no. 152)
Menmuir	x 1274	(<u>SHS Misc.</u> , vi, 49)
Moneydie	x 1274	(<u>SHS Misc.</u> , vi, 47, 49)
Muckersie	1452x69	(Myln, <u>Vitae</u> , 24; <u>RMS</u> , ii, no. 1056)
Obney	x 1274	(<u>CSSR</u> , i, 81; Cowan, <u>Parishes</u> , 158; <u>SHS Misc.</u> , vi, 49)
Rattray	?	(Reg. Pres., i, fo. 106; Cowan, <u>Parishes</u> , 169; Myln, <u>Vitae</u> , 5; <u>SHS Misc.</u> , vi, 73)
Ruffil	x 1274	(<u>SHS Misc.</u> , vi, 48)

Cowan, I.B., 'Organisation of the Scottish Secular Cathedral Chapter', RSCHS, xiv, 43-4.

Prebendaries:Aberlady

Abraham Crichton: 3rd son of Adam Crichton of Ruthven (Scots Peerage, ii, 324); par. of Lady Kirk of the Steele 1520 (Fraser, Keir, 316); par. Upsettlington 1522-63 (Fraser, Keir, 105, 106; TB, 88, 147, 283); par. Chirnside 1526-65 (RMS, iv, no. 1656; Fraser, Keir, 115; RMS, iii, no. 1017; RSS, ii, no. 1388; v, no. 2314); par. Crawford-John 1529-41 (PRO, 31/9/32/149; RMS, iii, no. 1134; TA, vii, 456; Fraser, Keir, 115); curator of John Wardlaw of Torry (RSS, ii, no. 1388; RMS, iii, no. 1017; SRO, ADCS, i, fo. 1190-1201; SRO, Dick Lauder Papers GD 41/375; St.A Rent. 184); prov. Dunglass, vic. Edrom 1535-65 (Scots Peerage, ii, 324; ADCP, 450; RMS, ii, no. 2024; iv, no. 432; v, no. 1548; Fraser, Keir, 151, 157, 178; Acts and Decs., xxxv, fo. 148; RSS, ii, no. 5010; iii, no. 2312; St.A.Rent., 184; Patrick, Statutes, 87; GRH. Chrs., 1371; RSS, v, no. 2371; Spalding Misc., iv, 203; Reg. Deeds, lii, fo. 131v; TB, 88, 247; RMS, v, no. 2371; RPC, i, 216; Acts and Decs. xxxvii, fo. 110; RMS, iv, no. 1659; RPC, ii, 497); par. and vic. Hutton 1538 (Spalding Misc., iv, 203); official of Lothian 1540-53 (Watt, Fasti, 326); auditor of Robert Auchmouty, granitar St.Andrews 1545 (St.A Rent., 184); legal rep. of James and David Beaton (SRO ADCS, i, fo. 119v-120r; RMS, iii, no. 1017; SRO Dick Lauder GD 41/375 St.A Rent., 184); auditor Treasurers accounts (GRH. Chrs., no. 1632). Judge Court of Session 1548-50 (Brunton and Haig, Senators, 92-3; TA, ix, 254; ADCP, 597-8, 604); cp. Altar BVM, Dunblane <1551 (Reg. Supp., 2721 fo. 164v; Fraser, Keir, 400-1); Lord of Council 1551-63 (RPC, iii, 188; Fraser, Douglas, liii, 245; HMC, 55, v, 38 no. 129); vic. pen. Strogeith 1553-1563/4 (Dunb. Consist. Act Bk., ii, fo. 286; RFC, ii, fo. 174, 174v; RSS, v, no. 2721); 1559 with Robert Crichton in Edinburgh Castle, supporter of Mary of Guise (Leslie, History, ii, 435). Parliamentary commissioner for weights (APS, ii, 496, 540); preb. Aberlady <Ref.- d.1565 (Assump. 173v; RSS, v, no. 2314); d. 1565 (Knox, History, ii, 185).

John Kemp: preb. Aberlady 1567 (Reg. Deeds, viii, fo. 158).

William Kemp: son of John above; preb. Aberlady 1565-d.1578 (Reg. Deeds, viii, fo. 158; RSS, v, no. 2314; vii, no. 1491).

Robert Sinclair: preb.Aberlady 1577-84 (RSS, vii, no 1491; Reg. Pres., i, fo. 152v; SRO Breadalbane Mun. GD 112/2/130/7); rdr. Tibbermore 1578-94 (RSS, lxvi, fo. 28); min. Madderty 1595, min. Auchterarder <1601, ret. Madderty 1603 (Scott, Fasti, iv, 277)

Alyth:

Robert Graham: 1526 can. Dunkeld, master Maisondew Brechin (RSS, i, no. 3612); preb. Alyth 1539-68 (ASPA, 101, no. 7; Reg. Supp., 2712, fo. 186r-v; Fraser, Grandtully, 83; TB, 101: RSS, v, no. 3144); vic. Mains 1563 (RMS, iv, no. 1488); collector of Dunkeld chapter 1564 (Inchcolm Chrs., 212; Dunk. Rent., 346, 351).

William Bannerman: preb. Alyth 1566 (RSS, v, no. 3144); preb. Kippen, vic. Dunning 1566 (RSS, v, no. 2743); preb. Craigie 1566-92 (see Craigie).

James Graham: poss. preb. Alyth <1555 (Reg. Lat., 1838, fos. 211-3, 235-236v); preb. Alyth c. 1569, min. 1596 (Scott, Fasti, v, 249; Mcfarlane, Geographical Collections, i, 114).

Caputh:

Stephen Culross: preb. Caputh 1554-61 (see treasurers).

Archibald Lindsay: cp. Forgandenny 1551, preb. Caputh <Ref-1564 (Reg. Supp., 2850, fo. 128r; 2856, fo. 89v-90; Dunk. Rent., 349); factor of William Gordon 1564 (Dunk. Rent., 347, 349); preb. Insh and Kingussie 1562-1572 (Moray Reg., xxiv; TB. 215; RSS, vi, no. 1422); sub-collector of Thirds of Benefices, Moray, 1567 (TB, xl, 196, 215).

Robert Abercrombie: preb. Caputh 1561x73 (see treasurers).

Clunie:

James Hepburn: preb. Clunie 1526-66 (see deans).

John Barton: preb. Clunie 1566-1586x9 (see deans).

Craigie:

William Chisholm: bishop of Dunblane 1526-64 (Watt, Fasti, 78); preb. Craigie 1544-1563/4. (RSS, iii, no. 739; v, no. 1513).

Gilbert Bannerman: preb. Craigie 1558-74/5 (Dunk. Rent., 349; RSS, v, no. 1513; RMS, v, no. 1805; v, no. 542); d. 1578 (RSS, vii, no. 1540).

Alexander Crichton: preb. Craigie 1564. (see archdeacons)

William Bannerman: preb. Alyth 1566 (RSS, v, no. 3144); preb. Kippen and vic. Dunning 1566 (RSS, v, no. 2743); preb. Craigie 1566-92 (RSS, no. 3144; Laing Chrs., no. 1092; RSS, viii, no. 904; Fraser, Grandtully, 105; GRH Chrs., nos. 2764, 3170).

Adam Bannerman: preb. Craigie 1578 (RSS, vii, no. 1540).

Crieff:

George Cook: stud. St.Andrews 1526-7 (AFA, ii, 354); scribe to Privy Seal 1535-43; pres. to Lady Altar for services at Exchequer (RSS, ii, no. 771; iii, nos. 128, 1339); secretary to Archbishop David Beaton, while scribe to Privy Seal (RSS, ii, Append., 722; SRO Yester Writs GD 28/541; Sanderson, Cardinal of Scotland, 97-8); vic. Perth 1535-64 (Fittis, Perth, 77; GRH Chrs., no. 1623; Assump., 87, 299; RMS, v, no. 2821); preb. Crieff 1539-74 (RMS, iii, no. 2170; Assump., 302v; RSS, vi, no. 2465); cp. Holyblood Altar, Dunkeld, vic. Muirhouse 1540s (RSS, iii, no. 772); dn. Linlithgow and Haddington 1541-3 (St.A.Rent., 118, 153; Watt, Fasti, 320-1); vic. Tealing 1544 (RSS, iii, no. 2126); cp. Cowty 1546-7 (RSS, iii, no. 2126); preb. colleg. church Corstorphine 1547-8 (RSS, iii, no. 2573)

William Drummond: preb. Crieff 1574-84 (Fraser, Grandtully, 105, Porteous, Crieff, 107; SRO Breadalbane Mun. GD 112/2/130/7); min. Crieff, Comrie, Monzie and Monzievaird 1564-89 (see parish clergy).

Dowally:

Robert Abercrombie: vic. Dowally <Ref.-1574 (see treasurers).

Walter Stewart: vic. pen. Dowally 1560-74 (see treasurers).

Duncan McLellan: vic. Dowally 1573 (Reg. Pres., i, (4), fo. 10; Scott, Fasti, viii, 350).

Ferdischaw and Logiebride:

Michael Balfour: rec. Wilton, clerk St.Andrews 1550, kinsman of Bothwell (Reg. Supp. 2721, fo. 173v); preb. Ferdischaw 1552-62x70 (Atholl and Tullibardine, v, p. clxi); commendator Melrose 1561-9 (TB, 111, 163, 286); preb. Logiebride 1565-9 (RSS, vi, no. 611; vii, no. 750).

James Lauder: preb. Logiebride 1569-1607 (RSS, vi, no. 611; NLS Adv. MSS, 17.1.3, fo. 367-9; SRO Breadalbane Mun. GD 112/2/130/7; RMS, vi, no. 2100).

Fern:

Patrick Muir: cp. Edinburgh 1529-30 (PB Foular, no. 199); 1536 esch. for breaking rules concerning purchase of archdeaconry of Moray (RSS, ii, no. 2141); preb. Fern 1550-86/7 (RSS, vi. no. 976; Assump., 340; 359v; SRO Fraser Chrs GD86. no. 268; Southesk Papers, NRA, box no. 3 bdle 2); cl. Glasgow 1551 (Reg. Lat., 1818, fo. 110v-112v).

Forgandenny:

Archibald Dunbar: chanter, subch. Glasgow 1537-51 (Bellenden Chron., ii, 428; Glasgow Mun., i, 494; ii, 295-6; Glasgow Test., i, fo. 25; Watt, Fasti, 169-70); archdn. Moray 1539-1551x65 (Watt, Fasti, 242); preb. Forgandenny 1550-62 (RSS, iv, no. 1264; TB, 165); preb. Edinkillie and Forres 1551-65 (RSS, iv, no. 1264; v, nos. 1917, 2774).

John Leslie: b. Dunkeld, cp. All Saints, Dunkeld, in charge of choir (Dunk. Rent., 330); 1560 priest Moray, unsuccessful supplication to Rome regarding Forgandenny (Reg. Supp., 3033, fo. 53v, 54r); preb. Forgandenny at Ref.-1564 (Assump., 304; Dunk. Rent., 350); rdr. Kilmaveonaig 1574 (Wod. Misc., 356).

John Barton: preb. 1564 (Dunk. Rent. 350) (see deans)

James Hering: preb. Forgandenny 1566-7 (RSS, v, no. 3178; Reg. Supp., 3032, fo. 168r-v); prov. Methven 1572-1600x2 (Watt, Fasti, 369); accused of non-residence 1575-6, fruits cut by Crown 1577 (BUK, i, 336, 351; Scott, Fasti, iv, 221); deputy to Robert Hay to reconcile protestants to the Catholic faith 1578 (IR, vii, pt.2, 118); member General Assembly 1581 (Scott, Fasti, iv, 221); d. <1602 (RMS, vi, no. 1275)

George Hering: son of James Hering of Glasclune (RSS, vi, no. 1719); preb. Forgandenny 1572-84 (RSS, v, no. 1719; Fraser, Grandtully, 105; SRO Breadalbane Mun. GD 112/2/130/7)

Fungarth:

Thomas McGill: archpriest colleg. church Dunbar 1557-74 (RMS, iv, no. 2388); can. Fungarth 1569-72 (RFC, ii, fos. 233, 236; RMS, v, no. 791) d. vic. Inveresk <1579 (RSS, vii, no. 1958).

David McGill: son of James McGill of Rankeillour; preb. Fungarth 1574-1603 (RSS, vi, no. 2329; RMS, iv, no. 1239; RFC, iii, fo. 328); proc. to Sir James Menzies 1576-7 (Red Bk. Menzies, 211; RPC, ii, 515-7); lic. in civil law Bruges Univ. 1579 (SRO, Stair Mun. GD135 box. 121); queens advocate during illness of Robert Crichton of Eliok (Melville, Diary, 135, RMS, v, no. 1076; RFC, ii, fo. 328; RMS, v, nos. 1241, 1293; Pitcairn, Trials, i, 101); comm. Dunkeld, advocate 1586-7 (Reg. Deeds, xv, fo. 265).

Inchaiden:

James Hepburn: preb. Inchaiden 1526-d.1566 (see deans).

Inchmagrannoch:

Thomas Brown: vic. Auchtergaven 1524; preb. Inchmagrannoch 1531-90 (Reg. Briefs ARM xxxix SIA fo.296v-297; ASPA, 101, no. 7; RMS, iv, no. 1752; v, nos. 1130, 1136; Bamff Chrs., 38; Fraser, Grandtully, 83); cl. Foulis Easter 1552 (PB Thomas Ireland, fo. 21).

Robert McNair, sen.: preb. Inchmagrannoch <Ref.-1565 (RSS, v, no. 2446) vic. Killin 1510 (Taymouth Bk., 179); cl. Dunkeld 1527 (HMC, vii, 2, p.719 no.89); vic. Little Dunkeld 1536-52 (SRO Breadalbane Mun. GD 112/2/77/4; RSS, iv, no. 1659); comm. St.A. 1546 (Watt, Fasti, 329); sub-delegate Dunkeld 1550-1 (PB Rollok, no. 68); preb. Assynt 1547-53 (RSS, xiiii, fo. 89; iv, no. 2058; vic. Auchtergaven and Obney at Ref. (Assump. 296v, Cowan, Parishes, 158); par. Bona 1561-d. <Dec. 1565 (TB, 108, 214; RSS, v, no. 2474).

Robert McNair, jun.: preb. Inchmagrannoch 1565 (RSS, v, no. 2446).

Alexander Stewart: preb Inchmagrannoch 1565-1581 (SRO Dalguise Mun. GD38 sec. 1 no. 71; SRO Robertson of Lude GD132 no. 23; RSS, v, no. 2456); rdr. Blair Atholl 1567-74 (see parish clergy).

James Stewart: preb. Inchmagrannoch 1584 (Cal. Chrs., no. 2764)

Lagganallochie:

David Spens: preb. Lagganallochie 1554-d.1581 (see archdeacons).

James Spens: preb. Lagganallochie 1581 (see archdeacons)

Lethendy:

William Gordon: preb. Lethendy 1553-d.1571 (see chancellors).

William Edmonstone: preb. Lethendy 1571-95 (see chancellors).

Little Dunkeld:

John Moncrieff: vic. Little Dunkeld 1549-61 (see treasurers).

Stephen Culross: vic. Little Dunkeld 1549-61 (see treasurers).

Robert McNair: vic. Little Dunkeld <Ref. (see Inchmagrannoch).

Robert Abercrombie: vic. Little Dunkeld 1561-73 (see treasurers).

Duncan McNair: vic. Little Dunkeld 1573 (see treasurers).

Lundeiff:

Alexander Crichton: preb Lundeiff <Ref.-1573x77 (see archdeacons and parish clergy, Logiebride).

Thomas Cruikshank: preb. Lundeiff 1567-90 (see parish clergy, Lundeiff).

Menmuir:

William Crarer: complaint of oppression by him on tenants of Coupar Angus Abbey 1554 (SCM, ii, 215); nominated to preb. of Menmuir 1559 (NLS Adv. MSS, 29.28 32); vic. and rdr. Moulin 1578 (Reg. Pres., i, fo. 10; RSS, vii, no. 1716; Scott, Fasti, viii, 352).

James Hamilton: nat. son of James, earl of Arran (Southesk Papers, box 2 bdle 24); rec., preb. Menmuir 1549-66 (Penitenzeria Amn. xxxii vol. 62, fo.235-7; Dunk. Rent., 350; RSS, iv, no. 2263; v, no. 674; Acts and Decs., xxiii, fo. 84; xxv, fo. 15; xxvii, fo. 218; Assump., 342v-343; PB Grote, no. 276; RSS, v, no. 2946); dn. Brechin 1545-54 (Watt, Fasti, 45); collation to bishopric of Dunkeld 1576 (SRO Breadalbane Mun.GD 112).

John Lindsay: son of David, Earl of Crawford, Lord Edzell and Glenesk; par. Menmuir 1566-1592x98, initially to maintain himself at Paris Univ. (RSS, v, no. 2946; vii, no. 688; Bamff Chrs., 64, 97; Brunton and Haig, Senators, 178); tutored in Paris by James Lawson 1568 (Jervise, Lives of the Lindsays, i, 331-3); par. Lethnot and Lochlee (Jervise, Lands of the Lindsays, 319; Crawford, Case, 218; PSAS, xi, 419-21); Lord of Session, Senator of College of Justice 1581 (Scots Peerage, i, 516; PB Grote, no. 276; Brunton and Haig, Senators, 177-9); Lord Commissioner Parliament 1585 (APS, iii, 289, 520); Master of Metals 1592 (Brunton and Haig, Senators, 178; APS, ii, 538; NLS Adv. MS 29.2.9); Queen Anne's secretary 1593 (APS, iv, 26); Lord Privy Seal 1595-6; 1596 one of the Octavians, cent. power in council of ministers (Hist. King James VI, 364; Spottiswoode, History, 414; Ormond, Advocates, i, 70-1); ambassador to the King of France 1597; chanc. St.A. 1597-8 (Calender Univ. St.A., 1976-7, 78); dem. 1598 but still claimed honours and privileges; d. Sep. 1598.

Moneydie:

Michael Walker: cp. Perth 1524 (RMS, iii, no. 280); rec. Moneydie 1540-d.1566-7x1568 (Reg. Supp., 2846, fo.73v-74r: Fraser, Grandtully, 83; RSS, v, no. 3029; vi, no. 82; Laing Chrs., no. 560; GRH Chrs., no. 1905); d. 1566-7x1568 (RSS, v, no. 3158; vi, no. 82).

William Struthers: cp. Inver 1553 (Atholl and Tullibardine, v, p. clxi); poss. Edinburgh Blackfriar 1560 (SRO Elibank Writs, GD 32/8/11-2; Milne, Perth Blackfriars, 64); tacksman and preb. Moneydie 1566 (RSS, v, no. 3029); raised action against Thomas McGibbon, a later par. (Connell, Treatise on Tithes, i, 203); poss. rdr. Glasgow 1569-74 (Reg. Min., 31; Wod. Misc., 381).

Thomas Gilbert: preb. Moneydie 1566-7 (RSS, v, no. 3158).

Thomas McGibbon: par. Moneydie 1568-95 (see par. clergy, Moneydie).

Muckersie:

Andrew Abercrombie: Dominican prior Glasgow, prof. of theology 1545 (NLS Adv. MS 34.7.2. fo. 61); stud. St.A. 1551; prior Edinburgh 1554 (ECA Invent. Doc. re church lands, no.8); prior Aberdeen at Ref., received priory records, given to Atholl; preb. Muckersie Ref.-1567, par. and vic. 1569-72 (Meldrum, Forteviot, 94; RSS, v, nos. 1638, 2899; TB, 247); 1/3 treas. Dunkeld 1561-2 (TB, 166); vic. Tibbermore 1562-d.<1573 (RSS, v, no. 2653; vi, no. 1829; Scott, Fasti, viii, 375); prior Stirling 1564, also in Elgin and St.A.; denounced rebel, at horn 1569 in Moray (RPC, ii, 64).

John Stevenson: son of Dunkeld can. of same name; cl. Glasgow 1538 suit with chanter Dunkeld conc. chantry, settled for pension (St.A. Form. fo. 368); chanter Glasgow 1544-63x4 (Watt, Fasti, 160); vic. Machrum and par. and vic. Thankerton 1545 (PB Johnson, no. 344) prov. Biggar 1546-63x4 (Watt, Fasti, 342); proc. Consist. court Rome 1547 (RSS, iii, nos. 2226, 2238); sen. Colleg. of Justice 1550-63 (Brunton and Haig, Senators, 96); priest St.A., stud., apost. not Glasgow, vic. perpet. Lanark, rec. Essie 1550 (Reg. Supp., 2701, fo. 258v; 2704, fo. 209v; 2712, fo. 183v-184r; 2745, fo. 163r-163v); par. Wigton 1550 (Reg. Supp., 2699, fo. 157v); Lord of Council 1551-63 (Fraser, Douglas, iii, 245; HMC, 55, v, p. 38 no. 129); rector Glasgow Univ. 1552; cp. St. Katherine, Holyrood, links with Herbert Maxwell, baillie Dunkeld (RMS, v, no. 1242); preb. Muckersie 1560-3 (TB, 87, 147; RSS, v, no. 1638; Assump., 315); master Hospital of Beidsmen, Holyrood 1564 (PB Grote, no. 265).

Obney:

Richard Haldane: vic. Obney 1558-1606 (see subdeans).

Ratray:

William Crichton: preb. Ratray 1558-65 (see subchanters).

Andrew Abercrombie: preb. Ratray 1565-85 (see subchanters).

James Bannatyne: preb. Ratray 1573 (TB, 298).

Ruffil:

Robert Auchmouty: brother of James Auchmouty, servant of Cardinal Beaton; stud. St.A. 1531-3 (AFA, ii, 367, 370); granitar to Beaton 1543 (RSS, iii, no. 2475; St.A. Rent, 165-6, 184); vic. Arbroath and Forteviot 1547 (RSS, iii, no. 2475-6); vic. Stirling 1548-d.1583 (RSS, iii, no. 2578; RMS, v, no. 1206); steward of royal household and master almoner 1549 (RSS, iv, no. 222n); preb Ruffil 1549, dem. 1553, re-app. 1553, remitted 1565-6, resig. 1571 (Reg. Lat., 1827, fo. 112v-115v, 196-197; RSS, iv, no. 517; v, no. 2523; iv, nos. 2041, 2196; vi, no. 1203); cp. BVM Skeoch Bannockburn 1550-d. bef.1587 (TA, xi, 31; RMS, iv, no. 1630; vic. pen. Arbroath, St.Vigeans 1551-dem.1577 (GRH Chrs no. 1505; RSS, iii, no. 1508; Laing Chrs, no. 583); vic. Dun 1553-63 (RSS, iv, no. 2041; Assump. 345v, 358v; TB, 236); d.1587. (Edin. Test. cc 8.8 12 fo. 23v).

George Fullarton: of Meigle family (Stodart, 121); par. clerk Logie-Montrose, 1551 (Acts and Decs., iv, fo. 444); vic. Dun 1553 (RSS, iv, no. 2041); preb. Ruffil 1553-64 (Reg. Lat., 1827, fo. 112v-115v, 196-7; RSS, iv, no. 2041; Reg. Deeds, ii, fo. 323).

John Douglas: stud. Paris Univ. 1527 (SHR, xliii, 73); cl. St.A. 1529 (Reg. Supp. 1985, fo. 216r; 1996, fos. 13v, 263v-264r; 1998, fo. 8v); litigating against Robert Crichton over precentorship 1532 (Reg. Supp., 2083, fo. 193v; cl. Dunkeld 1547-1559-60 (McCrie, Life of Melville, ii, 472; Reg. Supp., 2973, fo. 58r-v); preb. Lundeiff 1550 (RSS, iv, no. 836); in service of Robert Crichton 1558 (Dunk. Rent., 353); writer Dunk. Rent. 1561 (ibid., 344); chamberlain Dunkeld 1570 preb. Ruffil 1571-91 (RSS, vi, nos. 1052, 1203; RMS, v, nos. 1800, 1208).

Tealing:

David Spens: preb. Tealing 1554-d.1581 (see archdeacons)

James Spens: preb. Tealing 1581 (see archdeacons).

Dunkeld Chaplains:

William Anderson: cp. Dunblane 1522 (Fraser, Keir, 317-8);
cp. Dunkeld
1554x80 (Bamff Chrs., 84); cp. Nomine Jesu and St. Margarets,
Perth (Rent. Bk. King James VI, vi, 309, 472, 475).

John Bannatyne: mk. Newbattle 1556, cp. St. Michaels, Crieff
1556-d.1569 (RSS, iv, nos. 3196, 3316; vi, no. 824; TB, 165).

Robert Bannatyne: cp. St. Michaels, Crieff 1569-78 (RSS,
vi, no. 824; TB, 298, 301, 305).

Andrew Bannerman: cp. St. Michaels, Crieff 1565
(RSS, v, no. 2420).

John Betoun (Barton): cp. Dunkeld 1561 (RMS, v, no. 1138); dn.
Dunkeld 1566-89 (see cathedral dignitaries).

John Cairney: cp. Dunkeld 1561 (RMS, v, no. 1138).

George Cook: cp. Holyblood and Lady Altar, Dunkeld
(see prebs. Crieff).

Alexander Cowper: cp. St. Christopher, Cupar 1541-2
(RSS, ii, nos. 4312, 4576); cp. Dunkeld 1561 (RMS, v, no.
1138).

Archibald Cunningham: vic. pen. Fern 1546 (RSS, iii, no.
1465); cp. Dunkeld 1561 (RMS, v, no. 1138).

John Elder: vic. Dunkeld 1539 (RMS, iii, no. 1996);
cur. Invergowrie 1546 (Milne, Perth Blackfriars, 214-5);
cur. Liff and Logie Dundee 1553 (PB Gray, fo. 6); vic.
Carnbee 1558 (RSS, iv, no. 1337); cp. Holyblood and St. Annes,
Dunkeld <1577 (RSS, vi, no. 1220); d.<1583/4 (Reg. Pres., ii,
fo. 95); perhaps the Highlander also known as John Redshank,
dn. Trinity Coll Ch., preb. Dunnottar- d.1578 (Assump. 362v;
RSS, vii, no. 1698); d.<1583/4 (Reg. Pres., ii, fo. 95).

Michael Greg: cp. Dunkeld 1549, with 1/4 par. and vic.
Abernyte 1572 (see parish clergy, Dunkeld).

William Haitlie: cp., with 1/4 par. and vic. Abernyte
1569-89 (see parish clergy, Abernyte).

David Henry: vic. pen. Alyth 1559-66 (SRO Airlie Mun.
GD 16 sec.46, no.12; RSS, v, no. 3036); cp. St. Katherines,
Cluny 1562-5 (SRO Airlie Mun. GD 16 sec.5 no.15; RSS, v, no.
3036); cp. St. Ninians, Alyth and St. Martin Edinburgh 1566
(RSS, v, no. 3036; Reg. Deeds. x. fo. 176); not. Dunkeld 1570
(RMS, v, no. 1189); vic-pen. Alyth 1580 (Reg. Deeds xxi, fo.
258)

George Ireland: cp. Dunkeld 1540-81 (Fraser, Grandtully, 83; RMS, v, no. 1138; PB Rollok, nos. 14, 67; SRO Robertson of Lude Mun. GD 132 no.23); not. Dunkeld 1564 (ibid no. 19); proc. Coupar Angus 1573-81 (CA Chrs, ii, 242).

Thomas Irvine or Alexander: cp. St. Peters, Dunkeld 1550-81 (CA Rent, ii, 67-8; RMS, v, no. 1138; iv, no. 1805; no. 952; vic. Meigle 1566-74 (see parish clergy, Meigle); servant of James Hepburn, dn. Dunkeld 1566 (RMS, iv, no. 1805); d.1581 (Reg.Pres., ii, fo. 64v).

William Marshall: cp. Edinburgh 1529-34 (PB Foular nos. 170-1, 429, 492); cp. Altar Ascension of Christ 1552-63 (RSS, iv, no.1912).

William Martin: cp. St. Ninians, Dunkeld 1539-75 (RMS, iv, no. 831; RSS, vii, no. 165); vic. Logiebride 1580 (Reg. Pres., ii, fo. 34; RSS, vi, no. 2704).

Alexander Montrose: cp., with 1/4 par. and vic. Abernyte at Ref. (Assump., 296); d. 1567 (NP 1.16/RH 2.1.22).

David Morrison: not. 1550-85 (SRO Breadalbane Mun. GD 112/75/96; RMS, iii, nos. 1686, 2397; iv, nos. 235, 1188); at horn for non-payment of Thirds (TB, 79, 142); cp. BVM, Inver 1560-66 (Atholl and Tullibardine, v, clxi; RMS, v, nos. 1138, 2949); cp. St. Thomas, Dunkeld 1588 (RMS, v, no. 1611).

Henry Mow: preb. St.Giles, cp. Grotall 1533-47 (PB Foular no. 492; RSS, iii, no. 2458); associated with Edinburgh confraternity called 'pietas pauperum' 1544 (PB Brounhill, ii, fo. 156v); prov. Methven 1547-9 (RMS, iii, no. 2458; PRO 31/9 33/248); pension from provostry 1561 (Morris, Provosts of Methven, 109); cp. St. Andrew, Holyrood, 1558 links with baillie Herbert Maxwell (RMS, v, no. 1242); cp. St. Katherine, Cluny 1562-5 (SRO Airlie Mun. GD 16 sec. 16 no. 5; RSS, v, no. 2005).

Thomas Muirhead: cp. Dunkeld 1540-61 (Fraser, Grandtully, 83; RMS, v, no. 1138); cp.with 1/4 Abernyte at Ref. (Assump. 296).

Robert Ostlair: cp. 1550 (PB Rollok, no.21); military service in France under Cassillis and Ruthven 1552 (RPC, i, 136); cp. St. Katherine, Forgandenny 1552-66x9 (RSS, iv, no. 1580; TB, 255); cp. Halyburton 1553-66/7 (TB. 285; Acts and Decs., x, fo. 83; xxxii, fo. 475; Yester Writs, nos. 642, 747); servitor Lord Ruthven 1561 (LMN, 82).

James Robertson: cp.St. Peters, Dunkeld 1539-72 (RMS, iii, no. 1996; iv, nos. 1136, 19; v, nos. 1138, 1189; RSS, ii, no. 4654; Atholl and Tullibardine, v, p.lxiii); d. vic. perpet. Rattray <1574 (RSS, vi, nos. 2504, 2511).

Walter Robertson: of family of Robertson or Downie from Meigle; cp. and servitor of earl of Bothwell, admiral-gen. of Scotland 1551 (PB Rollok, no. 94); vic. Aberdour 1556-d. 71 (North Berwick Carte, 72; Assump. 100; RSS, vi, no. 1289); not. Dunkeld 1558-63 (SRO Robertson of Lude Mun. GD 132 no. 18); cp. Dunkeld 1561, rdr. 1574, vic. 1580, d. 1590 (RMS, v, no. 1138; Wod. Misc., 355; RSS, vii, no. 2578; RSS lxi, fo. 33); cp. St. Michael the Archangel, Hailes Castle and prov. of Preston at Ref.; confidant of Bothwell, with him at Norham prior to his flight to France; rdr. Logierait 1572-3 vic. 1580 (BUK, i, 287; RMS, iv, no. 1569; v, nos. 759, 1138, 1189; vi, no. 1227; RSS, xxv, no. 212; Reg. Deeds, xxix, fo. 412; Bann. Misc., ii, 306-8; St. AKSR, i, 55); tried suspected papist 1573 (BUK, i, 287).

Alexander Ruthven: cp. BVM Forgandenny 1553-95? (Moncrieff Writs Inventory, i, 224, 226; RMS, iii, no. 2968; TB. 255; RFC, i, fo. 205).

James Sanderson: cp. Dunkeld 1550x84 (RMS, v, nos. 952, 1138, 1350); cp. with 1/4 par. and vic. Abernyte Ref.-1580 (Assump. 296; Stewarts of Forthergill, 106; RMS, iv, no. 1076).

John Stewart, 4th earl of Atholl: cp. St. Ninian, Dunkeld and St. Peter, Perth, cp. Tullypowrie 1561 (TB, 116).

William Stewart: cp., with 1/4 par. and vic. Abernyte Ref.-d. 1572 (Assump. 296; RMS, v, no. 1138; Cowan, Parishes, 53; RSS, vi, no. 1624); par. Lude 1562 (SRO Dalguise Mun. GD 38 sec. 1 no. 64).

Robert Vallange: cp. Dunkeld 1561 (RMS, v, no. 1138); cp. Edinburgh 1562 (PB Grote, no. 211).

George Wawane: vic. Dunsyre 1522 (Fraser, Keir, 104); cl. Dunblane 1524 (Reg. Supp., 1817, fo. 153); priest Dunkeld 1526 (ibid, 1892, fo. 62v-63r); par. and preb. Monzie 1532-5 (Arbroath, ii, 510); vic. Kilconquhar 1538 (RMS, iii, no. 1879); vic. Logy 1542 (GUA Annates 1542 fo. 73v); can. Dunblane 1542-58x64 (Fraser, Keir, 179, 187, 402, 412-3; Dunb. Consist. Act. Bk. fo. 136; SRO Comm. Edin. Dec., i, fo. 44); cp. BVM Forgandenny 1553-55xd. 64 (Moncrieff Writs Inventory, i, 224 Reg. Supp., 2883 fos. 46, 46v, 58; Stevenson and Wood, Seals, 643).

Walter Young: cp. St. Michael, Dunkeld 1540-65 (Fraser, Grandtully, 80 Stevenson and Wood, Seals, 653; RFC, i, fo. 201); dem. vic. pen. Fern, non-resid. 1545-6 (RSS, iii, no. 1465); cp. Tullypowrie 1564 (Atholl and Tullibardine, v, p. lxiii).

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by

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The diocese of Dunkeld at the Reformation comprised four deaneries and sixty-nine parish churches. The deanery of Atholl and Drumalban was the largest and with the deanery of Angus comprised the main body of the diocese. The other churches were contained within the deanery of Fife and Strathearn and the deanery of Lothian.¹ The majority of the churches within the diocese were appropriated to the cathedral or to other religious houses. The cathedral possessed fifteen prebendal, eight mensal and five common churches. Other churches were appropriated to the abbeys of Inchcolm, Dunfermline, Scone, Cambuskenneth, Coupar Angus, Holyrood, Inchaffray, Arbroath and Culross and to the priories of St Andrews and Strathfillan. The remaining seven churches, all in the north-west of the diocese, were independent parsonages.² The cathedral chapter at Dunkeld conformed to the standard pattern consisting of the *principale personae*, the lesser dignitaries and the canons.³ The actual size of the cathedral staff, including an unknown number of chaplains, can be estimated at approximately fifty persons.

If Alexander Myln's *Lives of the Bishops* is to be believed, Dunkeld prospered during the first half of the sixteenth century. Myln speaks in glowing terms of his Dunkeld colleagues, men such as Walter Brown, who possessed a 'remarkable knowledge of canon law and a strong sense of justice.'⁴ Despite the size of the diocese justice was administered well. The commissary-general at the end of the fifteenth century was the first man who 'effectively punished the excesses and crimes of the Highland folk.'⁵ The moral discipline of the diocese was monitored by the deans who kept an eye on the clergy as well as the laity. The dean of Atholl claimed considerable success in 'routing out abominable sins in Atholl and Drumalbane.'⁶

Due consideration was also given to education and music, especially during the time of Gavin Douglas (1515-22), who was better known for his poetry than for his piety. Boys entering the priesthood at Dunkeld lodged with one of the canons or the vicars-choral and served a clerical rather than an intellectual apprenticeship. In 1446 four additional vicars-choral and six choirboys had been appointed, and by the early sixteenth century the members of the choir were 'highly trained in the theory of music as well as the art of singing', were 'steady in the chant' and 'sublime in musical theory and in organ-playing.'⁷ The cathedral is well known for its antiphonary with its polyphonic settings for the ordinary of mass and anthems.⁸ Dunkeld had long been a centre of learning since the earliest days of the Christian church in Scotland. In 1518 the dean of Dunkeld established foundations for five or six Dominican scholars and in 1525 a decree from the chapter-general applauded the success of some of these students.⁹ In that year James Crichton of Dunkeld was one of nine Scots awarded degrees in theology in Rome. Crichton was well known in the papal court and had connections with Cajetan.¹⁰ This tradition in education continued after the Reformation with the foundation of the grammar school in 1567.

Dunkeld is indeed generally recognised as having been a conservative diocese for some time after the Reformation. The survival of Catholicism was quite widespread and centred on a group of clerics gathered round Bishop Robert Crichton.¹¹ How far Crichton's influence extended is difficult to ascertain in such a scattered diocese; in the more far-flung parts the survival of Catholicism can probably be attributed more to the various weaknesses of the reformed church than to any organised activity co-ordinated from Dunkeld. The Catholic party in Dunkeld was active during the 1560s but faded after Crichton's forfeiture in August 1571.

Robert Crichton was the youngest son of Sir Patrick Crichton of Cranston Riddel and the nephew of George Crichton, bishop of Dunkeld from 1516 to 1544. Robert graduated from St Andrews in 1516 and was provost of the collegiate church of St Giles, in Edinburgh, from 1517 until his retirement in 1544. In 1530 he was precentor of Dunkeld, under his uncle, and was to have been made chancellor of Moray, but the exchange with Walter Maxwell never took place. During his early career Crichton spent a lot of time in Rome, and was later to use his influence with the college of cardinals to counter the claims of Arran's bastard brother, John Hamilton, abbot of Paisley, to the diocese of Dunkeld. Crichton was especially friendly with Giovanni Angelo Medici, who in 1559 became Pope Pius IV. In the same year Medici was referred to as 'the great friend and protector of your prelate from Dunkeld when he was pursuing his business in Rome.'¹²

The succession to the bishopric of Dunkeld was in dispute for over a decade. Robert Crichton had been manoeuvring, both in Rome and in Scotland, to succeed his uncle well before his death in 1544.¹³ In May 1543 Arran protested to the pope that a reservation and provision had taken place without him having been consulted.¹⁴ Hamilton, however, did gain provision to the see only to be challenged by Crichton, who also claimed to have papal provision.¹⁵ He also claimed to be the crown nominee since he was co-adjutor and successor to his uncle,¹⁶ and may even have had a grant made *per incuriam* since the queen-dowager, Mary of Guise, pleaded with Pope Paul III to nullify such a grant.¹⁷ Hamilton took matters into his own hands by forcibly occupying the episcopal residence, which prompted an appeal by Nicol Crichton in December 1543, 'touching the wrong done to him [George Crichton] in the taking of his palace of Cluny and stepill of Dunkeld.'¹⁸

A protracted legal battle between Crichton and Hamilton ensued. At the parliament of August 1546 Crichton was accused of infringing the queen's right of nomination and her advocate called for the reduction of 'ane pretendit decrete given be certine cardinalis deput be the Papis holyness.'¹⁹ In December of the same year Crichton was at the horn for non-payment of taxes which served to sully his reputation still further.²⁰ The litigants were still disputing the see in December 1547 and Crichton continued to claim for a considerable time that he had been his uncle's co-adjutor.²¹ The dispute was eased by Hamilton's appointment to St Andrews, which became effective in June 1549. Arran, nevertheless, tried to persuade Paul III to appoint an alternative candidate, Donald Campbell, abbot of Coupar Angus. This second wrangle took a further five years to resolve for the see was vacant until 1554. Both candidates appealed, either in person or through intermediaries, to Rome and to the French court. In March 1548 Cardinal Farnese wrote to Mary of Guise to explain that Campbell's appointment would not be ratified by the pope.²² Further pressure from Rome was exerted on Mary: the bishop of Cenedo wrote to her in 1549 requesting that Crichton be given the church of Dunkeld so that justice could be seen to be done.²³ As a result

the queen-dowager wrote to the king of France complaining that Campbell's promotion had been blocked by the

importune solicitation and wrong information of one Master Robert Crichton, who on his manner intends to purchase the same but [without] any supplication or leave of my lord governor, or any having authority for the time, to the great hurt of the queen's grace's priviledge, which is and aye has been in use, that no promotion of prelacy pass in Rome, but [without] the prince's supplication therefore.

The letter begged the French king to 'write rycht effectuatulie' to the pope, cardinals and the French ambassador in Rome to preserve the queen's right of nomination.²⁴ In April 1550 it was requested that the views of the Estates concerning appointments to vacant bishoprics be observed at Rome as in the case of Dunkeld.²⁵

During much of this time Crichton was in Rome seeking support and while on the way back to Scotland in January 1553 gained an audience with Charles, cardinal of Lorraine. Crichton informed the cardinal that he had obtained the necessary decrees proving that the diocese was his but that he feared there would be opposition to his appointment. He persuaded Charles to beg his sister, Mary of Guise, to help him maintain his right so that he might enjoy his bishopric in peace.²⁶ In September 1553 the Estates of Scotland wrote to the pope and the college of cardinals complaining that Crichton had not only solicited provision to the see but that he had also raised an action in the papal court against Campbell, the queen's nominee.²⁷ The letter was to no avail; Crichton made his first appearance as bishop of Dunkeld at the parliament of 1554.²⁸

Despite his disputes with the crown before his appointment, Crichton's relations with Mary became more cordial after her appointment as regent in 1554 and in 1559 he was one of her few supporters.²⁹ Although Crichton attended the Reformation parliament of 1560 he had little liking for Protestant reform.³⁰ This was understandable; his own cathedral had been sacked by the lairds of Arntully and Kinvaid while the parliament sat. According to Thomas Randolph, the English ambassador in Edinburgh, Crichton remained 'as obstinate as ignorant' and refused to listen to John Knox, whom he called an 'old condemned heretic'.³¹ Crichton, one of the few respectable bishops of the time, was considered to be a 'chief pillar' of the Roman Catholic church.³² His stance in 1560 was likened by Maitland of Lethington, one of the leaders of the Congregation, to that of Archbishop Hamilton and William Chisholm, bishop of Dunblane: 'they did liberally profess that they would agree to all things that might stand with God's word and consent to abolish all abuses crept in the church not agreeable with the Scriptures.' He refused to sign the Confession of Faith, but declined to reject it outright; Randolph reported that 'as he would not utterly condemn it so was he loath to give his consent hitherto'.³³ Attempts were made to force both Hamilton and Chisholm to adhere to the Confession, but less pressure seems to have been exerted on Crichton, which might have been due either to his relative lack of influence or his intransigence.³⁴ On 25 August, however, Crichton, who had filed a bill of complaint of misuse and contempt of authority, was called before parliament to pursue his complaint. Crichton, not suprisingly, failed to appear and was lucky to survive an attempt to stay his living.³⁵ During the first week of Queen Mary's return to Scotland in August 1561 Crichton was one of those who joined her household. However he was not a popular man with the citizens of Edinburgh and was scared to put his nose out of doors 'for fear

of afterclaps.'³⁶ Realising that his position was somewhat tenuous because of the proclamation of the privy council which gave tacit recognition to the reformed church, Crichton, along with Archbishop Hamilton and Bishops Sinclair and Hepburn, offered the queen a quarter of his living to use as she thought expedient.³⁷

Although Crichton's activities were restricted in Edinburgh, once back in Dunkeld he continued to worship in the old manner. In 1562 he celebrated an Easter mass at which the Dominican, Andrew Abercrombie, preached. In the same year he was the only Scottish bishop to receive Nicholas de Gouda, the unofficial papal envoy. De Gouda was accompanied by the Jesuits, Edmund Hay and William Crichton, both relatives of the bishop.³⁸ The envoy was smuggled to the Hay's family house at Megginch and from there to Crichton's palace at Loch Cluny. Crichton agreed to meet de Gouda only if he travelled *incognito* disguised as an Italian banker's clerk and spoke of religion only when alone with the bishop. They discussed the desolation of the monasteries and the lethargy of the Scottish bishops. In a letter to Pius IV de Gouda bemoaned 'how little would be done for the cause of religion by negotiation with these good men.'³⁹

Despite this criticism Crichton was an active supporter of the Catholic faith and during the 1560s celebrated the mass on numerous occasions with the help of many of his cathedral and parish clergy. In December 1564 he attended parliament even though he was 'not adionyt to the religion.'⁴⁰ His survival can partly be attributed to the fact that he was well thought of by Mary. In 1566 he assisted at James VI's baptism and in the same year was a member of the commission, which also included two Dunkeld canons, Alexander Crichton and George Cook, convened to inquire into the validity of Bothwell's marriage.⁴¹ In December 1567 Crichton was under attack from the regent, James Stewart, earl of Moray, for ignoring the acts against 'that abominable ydoll the mess of one of the maist devillisch and superstitious inventions of the antichristis'.⁴² Despite this attack Crichton continued to celebrate the mass and as a result in January 1568 was warded, with two others, in his house in Edinburgh.⁴³ Later in the year he was again ordered to remain in Edinburgh for the same offence.⁴⁴ In 1570 Crichton refused to pay his church dues and in December was put to the horn for non-payment of thirds.⁴⁵ Nevertheless in June 1571 he was again present at parliament. However at the next sitting he was convicted of treason, deprived of his bishopric and forfeited. His forfeiture was due as much to his association with the Marian party in the civil war as to his continued Catholicism.⁴⁶ Imprisoned with him were the laird of Drylaw, David and George Crichton and nine others, presumably kinsmen.⁴⁷ Crichton was imprisoned in Edinburgh Castle but later committed to Blackness.⁴⁸ After his release from Blackness Crichton was warded in his lodging in Edinburgh and remained there for the rest of his forfeiture.⁴⁹

With his servant, David Crichton, vicar of Auchtertool, he lived 'in the west part of the turnpike within the great tenement' belonging to the hospital of St Thomas on the High Street.⁵⁰ In 1580 Robert Abercrombie, the Jesuit and former treasurer of Dunkeld, wrote the following account of Crichton:

There is only one Catholic bishop, named Robert Crichton, of noble rank, of an important family, of spotless life from his youth, as even the heretics admit. He is so firmly attached to the catholic religion, that, rather than give up the least ceremony, he allowed himself to be deprived of his bishopric and all his possessions and was even ready to shed his blood. He now lives in Edinburgh

in extreme poverty, he has nothing except the alms which good men give him, so scanty they could hardly suffice for himself and a servant. I am certain he would not go any where outside Scotland, for he will not even leave the city to go stay with some noblemen who would like him to be provided for in their houses as long as he lives, nor is he fit to do so, however much he might want to, for he is an old man and failing in health; he is eighty years old, perhaps a good deal more. In his youth he spent much time in Rome, conducting a lawsuit to get possession of his diocese from which he was most unjustly excluded. When he had at length won his case, returned home and was restored to his diocese, he remained in peaceful possession only six or seven years when he was again deprived of it and robbed of everything by the heretics.⁵¹

By 1581 his financial position was so parlous that he petitioned the king for assistance and received permission to collect a portion of the fruits of his former bishopric.⁵² In the same year he successfully raised an action against his successor, James Paton, which resulted in his escheat.⁵³ In February 1583 a report described Crichton as 'ane man of grit aige, waik and febill and nocht apperandlie to have longis dayis.'⁵⁴ In the following year he resumed certain of his episcopal powers and by August was fully restored to office.⁵⁵ In October John Barton, dean of Dunkeld, was confirmed as co-adjutor to 'Robert now Bishop of Dunkeld, [who] is becaumin waik and imbecill of persone throw his great aige, that he may noways gudlie trawell and exerce the function and cuir belonging to his vocation.'⁵⁶ Crichton died sometime before 26 March 1585, when permission was given for his burial in St Giles.⁵⁷ Although this might be construed as an indication of a late conversion to Protestantism, he was still referred to as an 'old doting papist' and 'an excommunicated and professed papist' shortly before his death.⁵⁸ It is more likely that permission was granted to Crichton as an ex-provost of St Giles and in view of his long and close association with Edinburgh.

The leading figures in the Dunkeld chapter at the time of the Reformation are readily identifiable. The dean in 1560 was James Hepburn, who was a cousin of the earl of Bothwell.⁵⁹ He had been appointed dean in 1516 and was also treasurer of Moray and provost of Crichton. Hepburn was connected with Friar John Roger, one of the preachers employed by Mary, Queen of Scots, and gave him a copy of Lyra's *Quinta Pars Biblie*.⁶⁰ The precentor at the Reformation was William Adamson (1558-65), who was succeeded by William Curll, a member of one of Edinburgh's leading Catholic families. His father, James, described in 1571 as the 'allegit chancellor of Dunkeld', was a member of the loyalist town council, headed by Lord Seton, which was twice purged by the Protestant lords in 1559-60, and was active in Catholic politics in the burgh throughout the 1560s. In 1571 both father and son were called to account for their Marian sympathies during the civil war.⁶¹ Another leading member of the Catholic faction in Edinburgh was Herbert Maxwell, the 'baillie of the bishop.'⁶² Maxwell had been a member of the Seton council of 1559-60 and in 1571 was head of Edinburgh's Marian party.⁶³ Maxwell was forfeited in 1571 but later submitted to the kirk.⁶⁴ The chancellor was William Gordon (1553-71), who belonged to the family of Lesmoir, which was related to the noble families of Atholl and Huntly. Two men appear as treasurer. John Moncrieff first appears in 1549 and after 1554 seems to have held the office concurrently with Stephen Culross.⁶⁵ Culross had been a canon of Dunblane and was a kinsman of Bishop Chisholm; he was also treasurer

of Orkney and perhaps vicar of Dron. In 1561 Culross, using the alias Wilson, was the unsuccessful litigant in a dispute with Robert Abercrombie for the office of treasurer.⁶⁶ On losing office he became a messenger for the queen and the bishop of Dunblane and spent much of the 1560s on the continent.⁶⁷ He was in close contact with the Jesuits, was accused of 'the whole practice with the Louvanians,'⁶⁸ and in 1565 was described as the 'rankest Papist in Scotland.'⁶⁹ Robert Abercrombie was of the Catholic family of Murthly. In 1562 he left Scotland with Edmund Hay and joined the Jesuits at Louvain. In December 1573 he was replaced as treasurer for failing to subscribe the articles of religion.⁷⁰ The subdean was Richard Haldane, one of the Haldanes of Gleneagles. It is not known what his religious affiliations were. Despite the fact that his family is alleged to have 'played a consistent and determined part on the side of religious freedom' Haldane is known to have had close links with Alexander Abercrombie of Murthly, a leading Catholic.⁷¹ The subchanter was William Crichton (1558-65), a kinsman of the bishop, who in 1565 was succeeded by Andrew Abercrombie, not to be confused with Friar Andrew Abercrombie, the prebendary of Muckersie and brother of Robert Abercrombie, the treasurer.⁷²

Holinshed related that Dunkeld was endowed 'with manie faire revenues and great possessions for the maintenance of the bishop and his canons.'⁷³ Most of the canons were men with a long association with the pre-Reformation church. Abraham Crichton, the prebendary of Aberlady, was a non-serving pluralist who had been accumulating benefices since the 1520s. Crichton had been a supporter of Mary of Guise and in 1559 was in Edinburgh Castle with his kinsman, Robert Crichton.⁷⁴ Archibald Lindsay, the prebendary of Caputh, also held the prebends of Insh and Kingussie. Lindsay was a chaplain of Forgandenny and was factor to the chancellor, William Gordon.⁷⁵ William Chisholm, the prebendary of Craigie, was also rector of Glendevon in the diocese of Dunblane. He was perhaps the nephew of Bishop Chisholm of Dunblane (1526-64) and later succeeded to the see in 1561. He was succeeded as prebendary of Craigie by Gilbert Bannerman. There is little indication of Bannerman's religious or political affiliations, but his procurator was Alexander Skene, a staunch Roman Catholic.⁷⁶ George Cook, the brother of an Edinburgh burgess, was prebendary of Crieff in 1539 and retained the prebend until his death in 1574. He was also chaplain of Lady Altar and Holyblood in Dunkeld.⁷⁷ Cook had formerly been secretary to Archbishop James Beaton and his nephew David and was later scribe to the privy seal.⁷⁸ The prebendary of Ferdischaw and Logiebride, traditionally the master of entertainments, was Michael Balfour, the commendator of Melrose.⁷⁹ Balfour was a kinsman of Bothwell, as were James Hepburn and Walter Robertson, who was one of the chaplains of the choir.⁸⁰ Patrick Muir, the prebendary of Ferne, held the prebend from before the Reformation until sometime after 1584. John Leslie, the prebendary of Forgandenny, may have been the only canon of Dunkeld to conform and serve in the reformed church.⁸¹ In 1524 a John Leslie, who was born in Dunkeld, was a chaplain of All Saints and was in charge of the choir.⁸² In 1574 a reader of the same name served at Kilmaveonaig.⁸³ At the Reformation Fungarth was at the centre of a dispute between Thomas McGill and James Thornton.⁸⁴ Despite the fact that Thornton had obtained a declaratory sentence against McGill he was the unsuccessful litigant as in 1574 the prebend was made vacant by the demission of McGill.⁸⁵ Thornton was unsuccessful even though he was a staunch Roman Catholic and a servant of Queen Mary and Archbishop Beaton.⁸⁶ The McNairs were a family with a close association with Dunkeld, three

members of the family holding benefices there during the Reformation period. In 1560 Robert McNair was prebendary of Inchmagrannoch and resigned in 1565 in favour of his son.⁸⁷ Duncan McNair, the vicar-pensionary of Little Dunkeld, became treasurer of Dunkeld in 1573.⁸⁸ Alexander Crichton held the prebends of Craigie and Lundeiff and was one of the priests who celebrated mass with Robert Crichton. Alexander Crichton was prosecuted for saying the mass in 1567 and again in 1572.⁸⁹ James Hamilton, the prebendary of Menmuir since the early 1550s, demitted in 1566 in favour of John Lindsay, the son of David, earl of Crawford, so that he could study at the Catholic university of Paris. Michael Walker was prebendary of Moneydie sometime before 1540 and held the prebend until his resignation in 1566.⁹⁰ William Struthers and Thomas Gilbert also appear as prebendaries of Moneydie.⁹¹ The Stevensons were another family with a close association with Dunkeld. John Stevenson, the chanter at Glasgow (1554-64), was prebendary of Muckersie. His father, who had been a canon of Dunkeld in the early sixteenth century, was also a musician. He had excelled in 'music and in the playing of organs' and while often absent as chaplain of Inver was rarely so when marked down for a canonry. Stevenson was succeeded by Andrew Abercrombie. Robert Auchmouty, the prebendary of Ruffil, appears as early as 1549 and held the prebend intermittently until his resignation in 1571.⁹²

There is some uncertainty as to the number of chaplains at Dunkeld, though in 1561 there were at least sixteen and perhaps as many as twenty-three.⁹³ James Robertson was chaplain of St Peter's from 1556 until his death sometime before 1574.⁹⁴ Walter Young, the chaplain of St Michael's, likewise served through the Reformation period until his death in 1565.⁹⁵ Robert Vallange and John Cairney were amongst those who supported Crichton at celebrations of the mass, as was Thomas Irvine, the chaplain of St Peter's, who was also vicar of Meigle and reader at Blair-Atholl.⁹⁶ Irvine died in 1582, having possibly conformed. John Elder, another recusant priest, was chaplain of St Anne's and Holyblood and had been a curate near Dundee.⁹⁷ William Stewart, 'chorist of the quire,' was probably a pre-Reformation chaplain at Dunkeld. At the Reformation he held a quarter of the kirk of Abernyte and also held the parsonage of Lude.⁹⁸ Thomas Muirhead was a chaplain as early as 1540 and held a quarter of Abernyte until his remission in 1565-6.⁹⁹ James Sanderson and Alexander Montrose held the two remaining quarters of the kirk of Abernyte.¹⁰⁰ Sanderson was still a portioner in 1580 and served as a notary in 1586.¹⁰¹ He was also a reader at Alyth and Ruthven. Little is known about Archibald Cunningham except that he was vicar-pensioner at Ferne in 1546. The career of David Morrison, the chaplain of St Mary's at Inver, was mainly post-Reformation and as late as 1588 he appeared as chaplain of St Thomas.¹⁰² The most interesting of the chaplains was Walter Robertson from Meigle, who was chaplain at Dunkeld, Hailes Castle and Preston and was vicar of Aberdour.¹⁰³ Robertson was a kinsman of Bothwell and attended him at Norham in 1563 prior to his flight to France. He was thought to have died in 1570 but reappeared three years later at Logierait, charged with performing a funeral service in the 'popish manner.'¹⁰⁴

As well as many of the chaplains of Dunkeld there were other clergymen who were involved in the saying of masses in the diocese during the 1560s. David Henry, the chaplain of St Ninian's in Alyth and St Martin's in Edinburgh, was also one of Crichton's chaplains at Cluny.¹⁰⁵ The other chaplain at Cluny was Henry Mow, a former provost of Methven (1547-9).¹⁰⁶ Father Robert Veitch, 'sumtyn guardian of

the grayfreiris in Stirling,' appeared with Thomas Aitken, another Franciscan, under Crichton's protection at Cluny.¹⁰⁷ Veitch was noted by Fr Abercrombie as one of only two religious men who as late as 1580 'constantly go about the kingdom saying mass.'¹⁰⁸ Veitch along with Fr Leitch, often preached at Murthly, near Dunkeld. Thomas Aitken, a friar in Perth in 1562, was delated in July 1572 for 'contravening of the actis and ministratiōne of the sacraments in the papisticall maner.'¹⁰⁹ Also involved were John Harvey, a monk of Newbattle, and William Murdoch, a native of Dunkeld, who after a period of service with Crichton joined the Jesuits.¹¹⁰

For some time after 1560 there were strong traces of a continuing devotion to Catholicism amongst the parish clergy and even amongst the few who had apparently conformed and accepted office in the reformed church. Henry Balfour, the vicar of Dollar, was demitted in 1573 for failing to subscribe the articles of religion. Sir John Black, priest, and later exhorter at Preston and Bunkle, was called before the privy council in 1569 to explain his doctrines.¹¹¹ William Cranston, the vicar of Tibbermore, was one of the masters of St Salvator's, who at the Reformation 'adhered to the ancient religion and left their places.'¹¹² At the time of his death Randolph noted that Cranston 'a great favourer of Papystes is hapelie ded in thys myschevous world.'¹¹³ Numerous Crichtons were parish clergymen, including 'Dene' George Crichton, who along with Robert Boyd, Bishop Crichton's servant, was in charge of the 'geir of Perth', held for safe-keeping at Cluny.¹¹⁴ There were also lesser known clergymen prosecuted for celebrating the mass. In 1563 Robert Paterson in Logierait and John Pillor in Foss were prosecuted and in 1573 John Drummond and Michael Greg, the reader at Dunkeld, 'who be thair convention and troubles have raised a greater slander against them and their offices', were tried for 'allegdange touching the smelling of papistry.'¹¹⁵ The curate of Fortingall, probably a MacGregor of Glenstrae and one of the authors of the *Chronicle of Fortingall*, seems to have remained faithful to the old faith. In 1564 he asked that John Dougallson's soul be prayed for as he had spurned the law of the heretics. He also refers to another parishioner who remained 'firmus in fide chatolica.'¹¹⁶

In the outlying parishes where the organisational weaknesses of the reformed church were most apparent, there were still greater opportunities for non-conformity. In areas where recusancy existed three of four parishes were often served by the same minister. There survived in many places a dual system of church organisation: on the one hand the clergy of the pre-Reformation church and on the other clergy of the reformed kirk. For these two reasons Catholic practices lingered on and as late as the eighteenth century writers still talked of superstitions which were 'relics of popish days.' The same writer claimed that 'what religion clung to them in many places was but fragments of the half-forgotten, wholly perverted Popery of olden days.'¹¹⁷ The superstitions which survived centred round relics, holy wells and baptismal and burial practices. Especially famous were the relics of St Fillan which, due to the safe-keeping of their traditional custodians, the Dewars, survived the Reformation.¹¹⁸ Healing wells for various ailments were scattered throughout the diocese and retained their popularity despite the General Assembly's attempts to prevent pilgrims visiting them.¹¹⁹ The remoter areas in fact lacked clergy of either denomination so what survived in many areas was a strange mixture of Christian and non-Christian traditions. The parochial anarchy which existed was as damaging to the survival of Catholicism as it was to the establishment of Protestantism. Both were faced with the problem of creating a general movement within a localised society.

The Crichton circle took full advantage of the situation in the diocese but its importance may not have lain so much in its attempts to revive Catholicism in Dunkeld as in its contribution to the early Jesuit mission to Scotland. Six of the Jesuits involved were from around Dunkeld, four of whom had close connections with Robert Crichton.¹²⁰ Their efforts during the 1560s and 1570s were insufficient due to the lack of support, money and ideas. The Catholic cause was not helped by the ambiguous role of John Stewart, earl of Atholl. Despite his reputation as the leading Catholic noble in Scotland after the death of Huntly in 1562, Atholl's motivation seems to have been mainly political and his conversion to Protestantism in 1578 a reaction to the threat of Morton's highland policy.

In the decade following the Reformation the kirk made few inroads into the diocese. An important factor was the lack of effective supervision or leadership in the reformed church. The superintendent of Fife, John Winram, was continually admonished by the General Assembly. Every December between 1561 and 1567 he was accused of slackness in the performance of his duties. In 1564 he gave as his excuses old age, the non-payment of his stipend and the sheer size of his charge.¹²¹ He did however achieve more success in the early 1570s. In 1571 Winram was ordered to concentrate his efforts on Dunkeld and was excluded from St Andrews. His success in reorganising much of the chapter gained him some much needed prestige but by this stage he was an old man and was regarded as a liability. Although a superintendent he was never moderator of any of the thirty-six assemblies which he attended.

Despite the survival of Catholicism following the Reformation the advance of Protestantism continued. The pattern by which a reformed ministry was established in the diocese of Dunkeld was unusual in certain respects. Very few Catholic clergy conformed from either the cathedral clergy or the parish clergy. Yet a Protestant ministry was planted within a relatively short period of time. In 1574 there were at least twenty ministers in the diocese, with a further thirteen from outside the diocese who acted as overseers. These ministers were assisted by a variety of exhorters (until 1572 when the office was abolished) and readers. Although there is little evidence of a reformed ministry in the early 1560s it has been pointed out that the sum of stipends for Perthshire remained fairly constant from 1562 until 1569.¹²² The same might apply more specifically to Dunkeld, where in 1570 the ministry was approximately two-thirds the size it was in 1574.

The majority of the new clergy seem to have been young men, often graduates of St Andrews, who were drafted into the diocese to fill the void. Some of them were to achieve prominence in their later careers. Three ministers were promoted to the episcopate, though were not particularly popular bishops. James Paton, the minister of Dunkeld, became bishop of Dunkeld in 1572. In 1565 he had been excommunicated for non-residence and during the 1570s was continually criticised by the General Assembly. Alexander Hepburn, the minister of Little Dunkeld, was elected bishop of Ross in 1574. In 1576 Patrick Adamson, the minister of Leslie, was appointed archbishop of St Andrews. Adamson was frequently at loggerheads with the General Assembly concerning doctrine and other offences including non-residence and non-payment of stipends. At least seven ministers became church commissioners including James Anderson (Bendochy), Peter Blackwood (Aberdour, Saline), William Edmonstone (Caputh, Cargill), David Ferguson (Rosyth), Duncan McAuley (Inchaiden), James Melville (Fearn, Menmuir) and William Ramsay (Inchaiden). Other prominent clergymen who held office in the diocese included Walter Balcanquhal

(Auchtertool), Thomas McGibbon (Moneydie) and Andrew Simpson (Cargill). Even Robert Pont, who held a succession of ministerial offices, was briefly appointed minister of Dunkeld in 1562.

The haphazard growth of the reformed ministry in the diocese can be attributed as much to the influence of Bishop Crichton and certain Catholic nobles as to the weaknesses of the kirk. The spread of Protestantism was hindered by the existence of a Catholic circle which declined in importance with the infiltration of the chapter in the early 1570s. Sometime between September 1571 and October 1572, 'in the time of John, Earl Mar', Winram, the hitherto unsuccessful superintendent of Fife and Strathearn, appointed seventeen ministers, who were to be responsible for the election of the new bishop.¹²³ During 1571 James Ruthven was appointed precentor and William Edmonstone chancellor. Despite these changes Dunkeld was still one of the places in 1572 where the mass was said.¹²⁴ The strength of the ecclesiastical establishment was also curbed by the granting of chaplainries to students and paupers in accordance with the statute of 1569. In the following year the crown had confirmed its claim to benefices formerly held in common by the chantry priests of Dunkeld which were 'now vakand be ressoun the singing of the saidis priestis ceassis.' In 1574 the diocese and parishes were reorganised and in late 1581 or early 1582 the presbytery of Dunkeld was created yet it would be many years before the position of the reformed church was fully consolidated.¹²⁵

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NOTES

1. A. Myln, *Vitae Dunkeldensis Ecclesiae Episcoporum* (Bannatyne Club, 1831), 30.
2. See I. B. Cowan (ed.), *The Parishes of Medieval Scotland* (Scot. Rec. Soc., 1967).
3. D.E.R. Watt (ed.), *Fasti Ecclesiae Medii Aevi* (Scot. Rec. Soc., 1969), 94-126.
4. Myln, *Vitae*, 64.
5. Ibid., 60-61.
6. Ibid., 67.
7. Ibid., 68-9.
8. C. R. Borland, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Western Medieval Manuscripts in Edinburgh University Library* (Edinburgh, 1916), 113.
9. W. Moir Bryce, *The Blackfriars of Edinburgh* (Edinburgh, 1911), 28.
10. *Acta Cap. Gen.*, iv, 206; D. McRoberts (ed.), *Essays on the Scottish Reformation* (Glasgow, 1962), 198, 200n, 279.
11. J. Durkan, 'William Murdoch and the early Jesuit mission in Scotland', *IR* xxxv (1984), 4-5.
12. J. H. Pollen (ed.), *Papal Negotiations with Mary Queen of Scots* (Scot. Hist. Soc., 1901), 417.
13. J. Dowden, *The Bishops of Scotland* (Glasgow, 1912), 88.
14. *Letters and Papers, Henry VIII*, xviii, pt 1, nos. 542-3.
15. Dowden, *Bishops*, 88.
16. *Handbook of British Chronology*, edd. F. M. Powicke & E. B. Fryde (London, 1961), 289.
17. Dowden, *Bishops*, 88.
18. *Acts Parl. Scot.* (hereafter APS), ii, 430.
19. Ibid., ii, 469.
20. *Reg. Sec. Sig.* (hereafter RSS), iii, 1887, 2041; *Treasurer Accts.* (hereafter TA), ix, 10.
21. Watt, *Fasti*, 100.
22. *Calendar of State Papers, Scotland* (hereafter CSP Scot), edd. J. Bain & others (Edinburgh, 1898-), i, 103.
23. *Balcarres Papers* (Scot. Hist. Soc., 1923-5), ii, 190.
24. *Reg. Privy Council* (hereafter RPC), i, 91; R. Keith, *History of the Affairs of Church and State in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1844-50), 445-6.
25. RPC, i, 191.